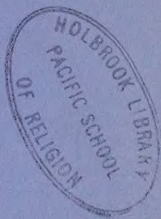


ANDOVER NEWTON QUARTERLY



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September 1960—

March 1962

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| THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH | <i>Rudolf Bultmann</i> |
| WHITHER OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES? | <i>Norman K. Gottwald</i> |
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THE ANDOVER NEWTON QUARTERLY

OLD SERIES, VOL. LIII, No. 1 SEPTEMBER 1960 NEW SERIES, VOL. 1, No. 1

Editor: S. MACLEAN GILMOUR

Editorial Committee: J. LESLIE DUNSTAN, NELS F. S. FERRÉ,
NORMAN K. GOTTWALD

The Andover Newton Quarterly, founded September, 1960, continues the Andover Newton Bulletin, which was first issued in January, 1906. It is distributed to ministers of the American Baptist and the Congregational Christian churches in New England and, on a national basis, to denominational officials, many candidates for the ministry, seminaries belonging to the American Association of Theological Schools, most college and university libraries, college and university chaplains, alumni of Andover Newton at home and abroad, students, trustees, and many friends of the School. It seeks to serve its constituency each academic year by providing four lively issues dealing with matters of theological and religious concern.

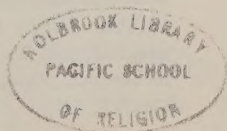
Andover Theological Seminary was founded at Andover, Massachusetts in 1807 as a school for Congregational ministers* and was one of the first Protestant graduate schools of theological studies in the United States. The Newton Theological Institution was founded at Newton, Massachusetts, in 1825 as a Baptist seminary, one of the oldest Baptist seminaries in America. Since 1931 both institutions have been affiliated under the name of Andover Newton Theological School and as one institution have carried on their work at the Newton Centre site. Although the School normally looks to the Baptist and Congregational Christian churches for its students and support, no doctrinal or sectarian restrictions are imposed on either staff or students, and qualified students of many different denominations are welcomed and are in attendance. It offers courses leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, Master of Religious Education, and Master of Sacred Theology.

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Andover Newton Quarterly



SEPTEMBER, 1960



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The ANDOVER NEWTON QUARTERLY

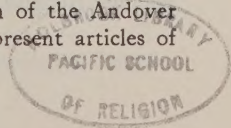
Editorials

With this issue we put at our masthead "The Andover Newton Quarterly," Old Series, Vol. LIII, No. 1, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 1. With the blessing of the Faculty and Administration and the good will (we hope) of Andover Newton alumni and friends, we have raised our sights, recharted our course, and changed our surname. We began in 1906 as a recruiting booklet; we came in the course of time to think of ourselves as a medium for publishing matter of theological consequence; and we now propose to be a serious journal of theology—serious, but *not* dull.

Woher?

Vol. 1, No. 1 of The Newton Theological Institution Bulletin was published in January, 1906 and consisted of information about the Faculty, the Institution, and Scholarship Aid. Vol. 1, No. 2 did not see the light of day until February, 1909 and was devoted to a description of "Courses in Applied Christianity." (In view of later developments, it is interesting to note that Newton had already manifested a concern to relate the work of the physician and the psychotherapist to that of the minister. Dr. Richard Cabot had addressed Newton alumni on this subject in the autumn of 1908, and a series of lectures by the Rev. Elwood Worcester, rector of Emmanuel Church in Boston, was announced for the spring term of 1909.) Vol. 1, No. 3 was published in April, 1909 to promote the Gordon School of Theology, then under the aegis of Newton, and Vol. 1, No. 4 was an advertisement for the 1909 Summer School ("Inclusive Charge for Board, Room and Tuition [12 days]—Fifteen Dollars").

Various features that became characteristic of the Bulletin emerged over the years. Vol. 2, No. 2 (February, 1910) was the first of the periodic and very popular "Theological Bibliographies"; Vol. 12, No. 1 (June, 1920) was the first to print addresses delivered at the Newton Commencement; Vol. 30, No. 3 (April, 1938)—the Bulletin was now, of course, a publication of the Andover Newton Theological School—was the first to present articles of



general theological and historical interest by members of the Faculty; Vol. 31, No. 3 (April, 1939) was the first to publish an abstract of the Southworth Lectures (delivered that year by Dr. Daniel Evans); Vol. 37, No. 2 (February, 1945) was the first to reproduce the English Lecture (given that year by Dr. Harold Cooke Phillips); Vol. 37, No. 3 (April, 1945) was the first "departmental" issue (this one on "Pastoral Psychology" and edited by Dr. A. P. Guiles); Vol. 47, No. 1 (October, 1954) was the first to be entitled "Convocation Issue" and to make the Greene and English lectures of the year available to its readers.

In due course some issues of the Bulletin may acquire importance to the historian, among them Vol. 13, No. 2 (June, 1921), "The Conference of the Baptist Leaders of New England at The Newton Theological Institution, March 14-17, 1921"; Vol. 18, Nos. 2 and 3 (April, 1926), "Historical Addresses Delivered at the Newton Centennial, June 1925;" Vol. 43, No. 2 (December, 1950), "125th Anniversary [of Newton] Number;" and Vol. 49, No. 4 (April, 1957), "150th Anniversary [of Andover] Issue." Several numbers have already become collectors' items: "The Religious Education Issue" (April, 1954); "The Kierkegaard Centennial Issue" (February, 1955); and "The Cutting Lectures" Issue (June, 1959).

Whoin?

The Andover Newton Quarterly will appear four times during the academic year. Two issues will be built around a major theological discipline, while two will be more inclusive. We hope in the future, as in the immediate past, to publish some of the addresses delivered at the School by distinguished visitors, to furnish a medium for occasional publication of essays by alumni or members of the Andover Newton Faculty, and, by annual surveys of books in the various fields of theological study, to give some direction and stimulus to the reading of those who make up our constituency: ministers, denominational officials, college, university and seminary teachers, chaplains, seminary students, and lay folk—men and women who believe, as we do, that God would have us love him with all our *mind*, as well as with all our heart and soul and strength.

S. MACLEAN GILMOUR

THE NEW SOCIAL PATTERN

Some months ago I noticed in my newspaper the announcement that on the preceding Sunday evening a "pleasant party" had lured guests to a fashionable home in a suburb of Boston. The affair was a reception for an opera singer who had given a concert at Symphony Hall earlier in the evening. The concert had been for the benefit of a Roman Catholic church in another city, and the newspaper editor called attention to one of the most significant features of the subsequent gathering. "The party," she said, "was symbolic of the new social pattern in which society, art, religion, business, the law, and the armed forces mingle congenially, and the lovely house was a fitting background."

To such a report only two responses seem possible. Either one says, "How wonderful!" or he says, "How horrible!"

How wonderful the "new social pattern" is if the kingdoms of the world have become the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. How wonderful if secular society has become Christian communion, if art has made itself an instrument of holy praise, if business is the Father's business, if the law is the law of the Lord, and if the arms of the armed forces are the whole armor of God. How wonderful if all these aspects of our culture can mingle congenially, not because the life of the gospel has been conformed to the ways of the world, but because the ways of the world have been transformed by the life of the gospel.

But how horrible if the facts do not support the wonderful conclusion. How horrible if the ministry has lost that blessed angularity that once made the world's embrace as uncomfortable to itself as to the world, if society has opened its doors to the church because the church has denied a voice to its Lord, and if Christianity has assumed the status of a social cosmetic—something guaranteed to make a nice party seem even nicer. How horrible if the church has let the years make subtle changes in its constitution until at last, being in the world, it is also of it.

Which of the two responses is appropriate to the gathering in the gracious home on the evening of the concert at Symphony Hall? I cannot say: I was not there. But this I surely know: I am worried about the church today. Too many people speak well of it who ought to speak ill of it. Its enemies find it too easy to patronize and its friends too simple to manipulate. For such a church a lovely house may well provide a fitting background, but I wonder: for the fellowship of Jesus' disciples, is any background fitting but the Cross, whose undisputed unloveliness proved the unavoidable instrument of love?

ROY PEARSON, Dean, Andover Newton Theological School

*The Transformation of the Idea of the Church in the History of Early Christianity**

RUDOLF BULTMANN

Translated by

S. MACLEAN GILMOUR

The Christian church had its origin in the primitive Christian community; in the fellowship of the disciples and followers of Jesus who, after the stumbling-block of the Cross had been overcome by faith in the resurrection of Jesus, came together to wait until he who had been raised and exalted should shortly return on the clouds of heaven as "Son of man," to institute the judgment and to introduce the time of salvation.

The primitive community understood itself in light of the idea of *Heilsgeschichte*, of history as the path along which Israel, the people of God, had been led in accordance with the divine plan. It thought of itself as *the community of the last days*, as the "little flock" that had been assured that it was God's good pleasure to give it the kingdom (Luke 12:32). As the community of the last days it was the goal of God's saving purpose and the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies. It was *the true Israel*, whose gathering and manifestation Jewish apocalyptists had ardently desired and Jewish prayers implored. This primitive Christian fellowship appropriated the name that heretofore had designated Israel as God's people: *qāhāl* in Hebrew and *ekklesia* in Greek. Its members were the elect, the saints. The twelve, who gave it leadership and whom its legends promptly read back into the life of Jesus, corresponded to the twelve tribes. They were shortly to sit on twelve thrones and judge the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. 19:28 [Luke 22:29 f.]).

The fact that the primitive community knew itself as the true Israel of the last days indicates (1) that *it was unaware of itself as a new religion* over against Judaism and paganism. The temple and the sacrificial cult were not repudiated. The community foregathered in the temple precincts (Acts 2:46), and its members continued to observe the ancient sacrificial ritual (Matt. 5:23 f.). As Mark 13:9 and Matt. 10:17 show, Jewish administration of justice was acknowledged, and the twelve, who gave leadership to the community, were not regarded in any sense as a legal body whose authority might supersede or override that of the Jewish Sanhe-

*Dedicated to Fritz Taeger on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Reprinted by permission from the CANADIAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. I, No. 2.

drin. As a matter of fact, the twelve were not properly an institution at all; they were a representation of the true Israel. Ideally they were the princes of the twelve tribes, though they had not yet achieved that dignity. Furthermore, the choice at a later date, not much later, but we cannot be too specific, of elders as leaders of the community also did not involve any separation from the Jewish racial and religious group. It only showed that the community constituted itself as a synagogue comparable to others already within Judaism (cf., e.g. Acts 6:9). As these had their elders, so also had the Christian community, to the extent that it assumed the outer form of a synagogue.

The fact that the primitive community knew itself as the community of the last days, however, indicates (2) that its peculiar and essential being was not brought to expression in this form. Its essence, as the essence of an eschatological phenomenon, could not possibly be embodied in ordinances, in institutions, in offices; for by its very nature, it was *an entity that belonged to the age to come*. It belonged no longer to *this* world, to the old aeon that already had run its course. It knew itself summoned by the word of Jesus, the word that continued to resound in it as a message imparted by the Spirit. It was the community assembled about this summoning word and, in faith in the word that gave it its being, it detected the powers of the coming age already in effect within it. *The Spirit*, of which the community knew itself possessed, was clearly a gift of the last days. It performed miracles within the fellowship; it brought forth prophets (cf. Acts 11:28; 21:9, 10 ff.); it operated in situations of persecution by imparting the proper answers to those who had been delivered up and brought to trial (Matt. 10:19 f.; cf. Mark 13:11). It worked also in the proclamation of the gospel—whether reproducing, that is, recalling the words that Jesus had spoken; or producing, proclaiming Jesus as the coming Son of man and speaking in his name.

Those who belonged to the community were sealed with the “seal of the living God” (Rev. 7:2 f.; 9:4), which placed them under God’s protection that they might be spared the terrors of the last days. Perhaps the phraseology of the Apocalypse is not merely symbolic. If Erich Dinkler is correct in maintaining that the sign of the cross was employed even in Judaism as an eschatological

Rudolf Bultmann is Professor Emeritus of New Testament on the Divinity Faculty of Marburg University. The most influential New Testament scholar of our time, he is best known for his work in form criticism, biblical theology, and the history of primitive Christianity. The translator is Norris Professor of New Testament at Andover Newton.

seal (*sphragis*), it is natural to assume that the sealing of Christians took place in realistic fashion, with the sealed marked with the sign of the cross, possibly at the same time as their baptism, which Paul already knew as a seal (2 Cor. 1:22; cf. [at a later date] Eph. 1:13; 4:30).

Naturally the problem is posed at the very outset, how the early Christian community continued to think of itself as an eschatological, other-worldly entity, both in view of the fact that it was compelled by the non-occurrence of the parousia to fashion and consolidate an organization, and especially in the light of its claim to be the true Israel. For the fact that the community knew itself as the true Israel indicates (3) that only those who belonged to Israel would share in the salvation of the last days (Matt. 10:5 f., 23; Mark 7:27; cf. Matt. 15:24). That did not exclude the possibility, foretold by certain prophecies and anticipated by some Jewish hopes, that Gentiles would also be received into the community. But it did mean that non-Jews, to be admitted into the community of the last days, would have to become Jews, that is to say, would have to assume the obligations of the law and allow themselves to be circumcised.

II

The way in which the disagreement over this issue disturbed the apostolic age is well-known, although the quarrel was not by any means the only theme then under discussion, as F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school once assumed. We do not propose to enter into the details of the controversy. It is necessary only to recall Paul's debate with the apostles at the so-called Apostolic Council (Gal. 2:1-10). The result was that Jewish Christianity *recognized non-Jewish congregations that would be free of the restraints of the law*. The extent to which the primitive community understood Paul's ideas is open to question. However, since his conception of the ecclesia became the dominant one, and since Jewish Christianity, which had extended recognition to gentile Christians but had remained itself within the confines of the law, soon disappeared from the stage of history, we may see in the Pauline understanding of the ecclesia *the first transformation of the idea of the church*. Although it may also have been reached by others as well as by Paul, and independently of him, nevertheless it was he who gave it its most decisive articulation.

The ecclesia now no longer thought of itself as bound to the Jewish people and its ordinances. Above all, it was conscious of freedom from the law, as, for that matter, from all bonds of a

human order; from social and national as well as from natural, bonds:

There is neither Jew nor Greek,
there is neither slave nor free,
there is neither male nor female;
for you are all one in Christ Jesus.

[Gal. 3:28; cf. I Cor. 12:13, Col. 3:11.]

"Or is God the God of the Jews only? Is he not the God of Gentiles also? Yes, of Gentiles also, since God is one." (Rom. 3:29 f.)
"For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all who call upon him." (Rom. 10:12; cf. also I Cor. 7:17-24.)

From the point of view of the primitive community it was inevitable that this should appear to be an appalling transformation, or perhaps, to the extent that it understood Paul, a tremendous, new perception by which the very thing that the eschatological community claimed by its nature to be was radically apprehended; the apprehension, namely, that it was an unworldly, other-worldly entity. To this degree it would be legitimate to say that this first transformation, however much a change it was when viewed from the vantage point of history, was not an intrinsic change at all, but the radical realization of what had been latent from the beginning. If the other-worldliness of the eschatological community had consisted in the first place only, or essentially, of the confidence that it belonged to a future that was fast becoming the present, it now characterized the community *in statu quo*, a community that was beginning to understand all the relationships of life in the light of the beyond, in Pauline terminology, to view them from the standpoint of the "as though . . . not" (I Cor. 7:29 ff.); a community that thought of this life as the life of strangers and foreigners, to be led in the power of the Spirit, i.e. in the power of the other world, with the Spirit no longer understood primarily as the gift of "speaking with tongues" and of working miracles, but as the power of ethical behaviour. The life of the other world had broken in upon this world of space and time.

The fact that the church separated from Judaism as a racial group and from its law did not mean, however, that it surrendered its eschatological consciousness, its conviction that it stood at the end, and was the goal, of a *Heilsgeschichte*, a course of history God had planned for man's salvation. For Paul, as for his Jewish-Christian predecessors, the ecclesia was the true Israel, the "Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16). The holy book of the Jews, the Old Testament, was taken over from the primitive Christian community as a matter of course, that is, as a matter of course for Paul and for those whose thinking was akin to his, whereas it was rejected by

those with gnostic tendencies, or accepted only with a critique such as that employed by Ptolemaeus, the disciple of Valentinus. However, it was the Pauline point of view that prevailed in the church, and that meant that the Christian community remained conscious of its continuity with Israel, naturally not with the history of Israel as the history of a national group, but with the *Heilsgeschichte* that God had wrought in and through the history of the Israelitish people. In this sense Abraham was the father also of the faithful in the pagan world. Above all, the relationship of the Christian community to God was interpreted as the new covenant that had been prophesied by Jeremiah. The church was the people of God, and to it belonged all Israel's predicates of honor.

What all this, especially the appropriation of the Old Testament, meant in other directions, that of ethical indoctrination and ecclesiastical law, for instance, is here left out of account. Its bearing on the idea that the church held of itself is the only subject of our present inquiry. This consisted of the following:

(1) In the self-consciousness of gentile Christians also, Christianity in the first instance was *not a new religion*. Naturally it was also not regarded as the old "religion." The fact is that the Old Testament was not understood in any sense as the document of the religion of Israel, but as the document of the revelation of God, of his ways, his demands, his grace. The Israel with which the gentile Christian knew himself to have solidarity was not the empirical Israelitish-Jewish people, but *that* Israel that always stood, so to speak, only as an ideal above the empirical history of the people and was realized only in individual persons such as Abraham or David; *that* Israel that had its reality after all only in the word of God that confronted the empirical people as promise and demand. To this same word of God the Christian community knew itself bound to respond, and therefore the continuity was, so to speak, that of the word of God of the then and the now. Accordingly, by the very fact that it understood itself as the true Israel, the ecclesia was in this sense an other-worldly entity.

(2) The fact that the ecclesia understood itself to be the people of God meant also that it thought of itself as a *unity*. The gospel did not promise individual persons the salvation of their soul and immortality, as did the mystery cults; it called individuals together to the one congregation of God. In the mystery cults, to be sure, individual persons came together to form congregations, but the individual congregations, although they may have stood, viewed historically, in certain relationships to one another, neither constituted a unity nor were exclusive. As a matter of fact, of course,

the Christian congregations also were formed by the convocation of individual persons. However, they did not think of themselves as a visible, empirical corporation, but as a manifestation of the one, invisible congregation of God to which they all had been called. All individual congregations belonged together in the one and the same ecclesia that here and there took visible form. This ecclesia was in being before the individuals who were called into it. By his call the individual was summoned into an order or a sphere that projected invisibly, mysteriously, into the earthly. And such a faith soon led to the speculation that the ecclesia was a pre-existent heavenly entity (Eph. 5:32; II Clem. 14; Herm. ii, 4. 1). Whoever belonged to the ecclesia was loosed from all worldly bonds, and his whole life was encompassed by the might and the blessing of his sphere. Membership in the ecclesia naturally ruled out participation in the rites of other cults, but it also had a profound effect on everyday life and conduct. Whoever belonged to it was translated into a new state of being; freed, so to speak, from all ties with this world and associated as a new creature with the world to come.

When Paul characterized this new Christian being as a being "in Christ," however, he employed a mode of thought and a manner of expression alien to his Jewish-Christian inheritance. When he described the ecclesia as the "body of Christ" and the believer who had become part of it by baptism as then "in Christ," he was using concepts taken over from Gnosticism. Those who thought of God as working out his saving purpose in and through the processes of history thought in the category of time; the Gnostics thought in the category of space. The former could no more speak of a being "in Abraham," their phrase was "sons [or children] of Abraham," than the latter could speak of "sons of Christ," or refer to Christ, like Abraham, as the "father" of the faithful.

Paul appropriated the concept of the "body" of Christ (as well as other gnostic categories) in order to articulate the unity and the other-worldliness of the ecclesia in a way that would be congenial to Hellenistic thinking. Christ was thereby represented as a cosmic unity; as a gnostic aeon to which all who had been baptized belonged by virtue of the Spirit they had received at baptism, as to a unity that embraced them all: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither male nor female; for you are all *one* in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:27 f.). "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into *one* body." (I Cor. 12:13.) Consequently the ecclesia was a *sacramental community*, filled with other-worldly power, with Spirit, that pervaded it, so to speak, like a fluid.

III

In all this, however, the outlines of a *second transformation* of the idea of the church began to emerge. Instead of regarding itself as the eschatological goal, realized by God's saving purpose in the process of history, it began to think of itself as a sacramental fellowship constituted by the Eucharist and by the sacramental powers of which the Eucharist was the medium. Paul was not conscious of any contradiction; for him the people of God was identical with the body of Christ. The way in which he so to speak neutralized the sacramental concepts with his idea of faith (e.g. Rom. 6) cannot here be discussed, since we are concerned only with the history of the idea of the ecclesia.

The contradiction could remain concealed (1) because both ideas articulated the other-worldliness of the ecclesia: in its essence it was something other than it appeared to be; those who belonged to it were no longer part of this world; (2) because both ideas had in common an orientation to the future, albeit a different one in each instance. Those who thought in terms of God's saving purpose working itself out within the framework of history expected the divine plan to be brought to completion with the (shortly forthcoming) parousia of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the world-judgment that the new aeon would succeed. According to gnostic ways of thinking, the present was the time in which the body of the heavenly redeemer would assemble the divine sparks scattered in men's souls and thereby reach its "fullness." Once these fragments of light had all been absorbed into the body, the earthly world would collapse and return to the chaos of darkness. The individual longed for the release from this world that death would bring, the ascent to the heavenly world of light, and the enjoyment, with no more ado, of immortality and its glory. Accordingly the cosmic eschatology of Gnosticism retreated in practice before the hope of individual immortality. In the church, on the other hand, both individual and universal eschatology persisted side by side, and at least Paul and his school were not aware of their antithesis. It was apparent, however, to Christians with gnosticizing tendencies, who rejected the realistic apocalyptic eschatology together with the ideas of the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment: such Christians as the Corinthians who were attacked in I Cor. 15 and the false teachers of the Pastoral epistles who maintained that "the resurrection is past already" (II Tim. 2:8).

Consequently the church continued to think of itself as an other-worldly entity whose existence in space and time was only a

preliminary stage of its being. Here and now the ecclesia was in an alien land: the faithful had their citizenship in heaven (Phil. 3:20); their city was yet to come (Heb. 13:14); they were now on a journey (Heb. 3:7 ff.); and they were bidden to gird up their loins (I Pet. 1:13; Polycarp to *Phil.* 2:1).

But gradually the idea of the church underwent a transformation, for which various factors were responsible: (1) the non-occurrence of the expected parousia, which not only brought disillusionment to the members of the community of believers, but also had the understandable consequence, attested as early as the Pastoral epistles, that they accustomed themselves to the regular course of the world and slipped into an unpretentious, although distinctively Christian, pattern of living; (2) the sheer, practical necessity of developing ordinances and offices, without which a community could not exist, even though it thought of itself fundamentally as an unworldly, other-worldly entity, since for good or ill it was also an empirical-historical one; (3) the immanent effect of the sacramental way of thinking. As a consequence of this last factor interest came to focus more on the salvation of the individual soul than on a universal eschatological future. The immediacy of the other world was no longer, as in Paul's instance, understood dialectically as the actuality of the word, which was to be apprehended by faith; it was construed as the efficacy of the sacramental powers, of which the ecclesiastical institutions were custodians and trustees.

The complex of problems created by the *non-occurrence of the parousia* and the attempts to come to terms with it (so far as the church was aware of it as an issue) will not be discussed in this article. Nor is this the place to give an account of the development that resulted in the *formation of ecclesiastical institutions*. That this took place, is self-evident; *how* it took place, is not really a matter of concern to us in the present connection. The critical question is, whether the organization was regarded as functional, as regulative, or as constitutive. If the church, as a human order, was originally constituted by the word that was proclaimed, and if the apostles, the first vehicles of the word, were not originally officials, then the decisive step was taken when the idea became current that the apostles had installed elders or bishops in the individual congregations as their successors, and that these congregational officials, who only had administrative functions to begin with, also took over the preaching of the word. For therewith tradition and succession, which were essential if the proclamation of the word were to be perpetuated, had been transformed from free

and charismatic into institutional occurrences. This had happened in large part as early as the book of Acts and the Pastoral epistles, in which the Spirit was already associated with the office and was believed to be conferred by ordination. It was complete by the time the epistle of First Clement was written; that is, towards the end of the first century.

Something more was added when the bishops became also the official leaders of the cultus, and it was this development that made the ecclesia fully conscious of itself as a sacramental fellowship. For if the cultus, the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, served to mediate the spiritual powers of the other world, then the leader of the cultus, spiritually endowed by virtue of his office with the right and the gift of administering the sacraments, was set apart from the laity as a *priest*. Thus there arose the contrast between priests and laymen, which was still unknown to the New Testament. Also the pre- and extra-Christian idea of the sacrifice offered by the priest intruded into the understanding of the Christian cultus, which originally was the representation or manifestation of the eschatological community, a community in which the Spirit had free play. All this predicated a sacred ecclesiastical law in contrast to a profane; the cultic ordinances were ordinances of a holy law. And, because the ecclesia was to embrace the whole life of the believers, what was true of the cultic came to be true of all ordinances of life: they all partook of the sacramental character of the cultic. The fact that individuals were upheld and directed by divine ordinances was their guarantee of salvation. *The church became the institute of salvation.*

IV

The last decisive transformation of the idea of the church was now complete. The sacramental fellowship developed out of the eschatological community and issued finally in the institute of salvation. The consciousness that it was an unworldly, other-worldly entity was not abandoned, but it underwent a peculiar modification. The transcendental character of the church was no longer grounded essentially in its orientation to the future, but in its present possession of institutions that already mediated the powers of the other world and guaranteed the individual his future salvation. The immediacy of salvation had lost its dialectical character.

The church's original self-consciousness was not simply obliterated. It was overlaid and could break through again and

again. This created tensions that were characteristic of the history of early Christianity, but these are matters into which we cannot enter here. However, the consequence of the transformation in one specific respect needs still to be characterized.

Naturally the orientation to the future did not simply disappear. To begin with, however, the interest in the individual future of the believer, for whom, for instance, the Eucharist was the "medicine of immortality" (Ign. Eph. 20:2), came to outweigh the interest in the universal eschatology. Then the latter, while by no means abandoned, was robbed in large part of its vitality. The cosmic drama of the end of the world was pushed off into some indefinite future, although at certain times, as in the book of Revelation, the earlier eschatological hope could experience a passionate revival.

But the dialectical relation of the church to the world fell into decay when Christians, as a consequence of the non-occurrence of the parousia, accommodated themselves to a further life in this world and came to think of the ecclesia as an institute of salvation that guaranteed life after death. Not only the Pastoral epistles and the epistle of I Clement—these especially clearly in their prayers for the state—but also Hermas, with his protest against the development, bear witness to a secularization of the church in the sense that *the Christian faith was thought to be a new religion*. And this involved a conception of the ecclesia as an entity within the framework of world-history, in the terminology of the Gospel of Peter, as the "third race," over against the Jews and the Greeks (i.e. pagans).

The beginnings of this development were articulated even within the New Testament; more specifically, in *Luke's representation of history*. In his Gospel volume he endeavored, in contrast to the other Evangelists, to give a historical account of the life of Jesus. In the prologue he declared that he had proceeded as a conscientious historian. Within the narrative itself he not only took pains to sketch a better ordered sequence of events than Mark had given, but also tried, by his datings in 1:5, 2:1-3, and 3:1 f., to give the events narrated a chronological relation to the history of the world. He changed the apocalyptic prediction of the "abomination of desolation." (Mark 13:14-20) into the prophecy of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (21: 20-24).

In his Acts volume he described the history of the primitive community, of the beginnings of the mission, and of Paul's missionary journeys to the time of the apostle's imprisonment. The

very fact that he wrote a report about the origin and early history of the church at all, is significant; for the older community, with its predisposition to eschatology, would have had no interest in it. But, above all, the fact that he made the Acts of the Apostles the sequel to the Gospel proves that he no longer understood the original function of the tradition about Jesus as a constituent of the apostolic preaching (the kerygma). He had historicized it. For the eschatological faith of the primitive community, as for that of Paul, the history of the world had come to its end with Christ; as the eschatological community, the church of Christ was the goal and the end of God's plan of salvation. In the thought of the book of Acts, however, this Christian community itself had again a history, beginning with Jesus. A later age naively accepted this notion and understood Christ as the middle and turning-point of history.

Throughout all changes the thought persisted that the church belonged to the other world and, in view of the fact that salvation lay in the future, was a provisional entity, even when at the same time it was understood as a phenomenon with a historical nexus. But the question is, how the relationship of this life and the life to come, of the now and the then, was understood. As a consequence of the non-occurrence of the parousia and of the accommodation of the church to the world, and with the development of ecclesiastical ordinances, the dialectical understanding of the future and the present, of the other world and this world, was shattered and more or less lost. The church does justice to its essential nature only when a dialectical understanding of its true being remains alive within it.

Whither Old Testament Studies?

NORMAN K. GOTTWALD

To attempt to speak of the direction taken by Old Testament study in this century, or even in the last twenty-five years, is to invite difficulty. Actually there is no single direction. Old Testament scholars, like the horsemen of the Apocalypse, have preferred to ride off toward the four corners of the earth. I have no intention in this paper of giving a descriptive account of modern study of the Old Testament. Excellent and detailed accounts are available.¹ The intent here is to recount certain aspects of the past in order to indicate the future, and the future so indicated will not be unmixed with personal desires and hopes. In other words, I wish to speak of where we have been in Old Testament studies in order to suggest where we ought to be going. To that extent the paper is decidedly subjective.

Overriding all considerations is the fact that we stand within the broad epoch of biblical interpretation initiated by the rise of biblical science as a branch of literary and historical criticism, distinguished from its fellow disciplines not by its method but only by its object—namely the canonical literature of the synagogue and church. This movement had its roots in humanistic studies and in the Protestant Reformation and was accelerated by the rise of the natural and social sciences and by the spirit of philosophical rationalism. Biblical science is approximately two hundred years old. In 1754 Jean Astruc provided the clue for unraveling the sources of the Pentateuch, and in the same year Bishop Robert Lowth's lectures on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews analyzed the parallelistic structure of Old Testament poetic verse for the first time in a thorough and systematic manner.

Of course much has happened in the last two centuries to affect the development of biblical science. Of some of the modifications and elaborations we shall speak. Perhaps most significant is the fact that biblical science has managed to weather changing philosophical and theological climates. In the eighteenth century Rationalism was philosophically predominant, but in the nineteenth century Idealism prevailed, especially those forms of it which emphasized organic historical development (notably Hegel). In our century philosophy's wings have been clipped almost as

¹ H. Hahn, *Old Testament in Modern Research* (Philadelphia, 1954); H.-J. Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen, 1956); E. G. Kraeling, *The Old Testament Since the Reformation* (London, 1955); H. H. Rowley (ed.), *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1951).

closely as were theology's in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the newer vogues such as existentialism have found their expression in biblical interpretation. The theological *avant-garde* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were attracted by the honesty and excitement of biblical science. In our day the revival of theology has not only come to terms with biblical science; in important respects it has also been a reflex result of literary and historical criticism of Scripture, partly in reaction to the aridity of critical study, but also in acknowledgment of the evidences of the striking singularity of Israel and the early church—precisely when historically described.

What I should argue here is that biblical science is by now a permanent feature of the modern scene, as much within the church as without, and that no foreseeable philosophical or theological developments will overthrow it. It is not the product of any single school of thought, and even conservative Christians, Protestant and Catholic, are showing increasing recognition of the need for a biblical science unprejudiced by dogmatic preconceptions. Although we are a little less elated with the wonders that biblical science can perform and are more sensitive to its limitations, we continue to live under the controlling conditions of the critical age or, as some would prefer to say, the post-critical age. At any rate we do not have something with which to replace critical methodology in biblical study. We have enriched critical methodology and marked out its boundaries more accurately, but we have not outlived it or refuted it.

In Old Testament studies during the past two hundred years three major, and roughly successive, emphases may be traced. First, *the Old Testament has been recognized as a collection of human documents*. This has been the achievement of literary and historical criticism (or so-called higher criticism). Second, *the Old Testament has been recognized as a collection of oriental documents*. This has been mainly the achievement of cultural studies or so-called traditio-historical criticism, buttressed by archaeology, comparative linguistics, comparative religion, and form criticism. Third, *the Old Testament has been recognized as a unique collection of confessional theological literature*. This has been the accomplishment at first of the history of the religion of Israel and, more recently, of so-called biblical theology.

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Now it should be stressed that these three emphases are not simply chronologically successive or conceptually exclusive of one another. To be sure the human character of the Old Testament dawned on biblical students before its thoroughly Oriental character was fully appreciated. Last of all the uniqueness of Israel's faith in comparison with that of her neighbors was properly accented. Nevertheless, laborers in biblical studies in the past were never entirely ignorant of all three of these truths and, in the present, stress upon one of the three in particular contexts does not necessarily entail the rejection of the others. It is sometimes difficult for theological conservatives and theological liberals to understand how the reassertion of the uniqueness of the Old Testament is supported by adducing its human and Oriental aspects. The former is likely to object that the human is replacing the divine; the latter is equally convinced that the divine is usurping the human. Yet it is characteristic of the present generation of Old Testament scholars to regard Scripture's distinctive status as the crowning summation of biblical criticism.

Literary and historical criticism reached their apexes in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the triumph of the Graf-Wellhausen theory of the authorship of the Pentateuch. This theory involved more than the claim that four unknown authors (familiar to theological students as the infamous team of JEDP) and a series of editors were responsible for the present form of the books Genesis through Deuteronomy, which are, of course, attributed traditionally to Moses. It also involved a rewriting of the history of the religion of Israel in such a manner as to put the prophets before the law and in effect to make Amos rather than Abraham or Moses the founder of the distinctive faith of Israel. One result of this reconstruction was a remarkable effort to recover the authentic message of the prophets from later editorial accretions in their several books and to illuminate their actual careers as human beings. It was discovered, for example, that there are several strata of literary material in the book of Isaiah, the two of greatest interest belonging respectively to the eighth-century Isaiah of Jerusalem in portions of Chaps. 1-39 and to an anonymous sixth-century prophet of the Exile in Chaps. 40-55. The great prophets stood out in relief as "personalities" rather than as colorless media of prediction.

In general, then, the Old Testament writings were resolved into their ingredient sources wherever possible and reshuffled according to an historical line of development which moved from the animism and polydemonism of Genesis through the heno-

theism of early Israel to the monotheism of Deutero-Isaiah. This development was interrupted by the long period of post-exilic retreat from the prophetic ideals, a period of stagnation marked by the canonization of the law and the excessive pessimism of apocalyptic literature. Christianity came as a movement which liberated the old prophetic truth and universalized it by rejecting law and apocalyptic.

The second great phase overlaps the first. From the beginning it was known that the Old Testament was written in Hebrew and Aramaic and had an ancient Near Eastern setting, but it was one of those facts which are known but from which no one draws the full conclusions. Only slowly did it become apparent that writing occupied quite a different place in ancient Near Eastern society than it does in ours. The Egyptian and Assyro-Babylonian languages were deciphered in 1822 and 1846, respectively, but the great riches of other Near Eastern peoples, such as the Sumerians, Hittites, Hurrians, and Canaanites have only become available in this century. We now possess a vast body of comparative data for reconstructing the material and institutional forms of Israelite life, sometimes with surprising precision as, for example, in the recent discovery of the Canaanite temple at Hazor with its three divisions, two frontal pillars, and altar and vessels in the slab-lined "holy of holies." Any reader of I Kings will at once recognize its kinship with Solomon's temple.

This fuller illumination of the ancient Near East has had a sharp impact on literary criticism, and chiefly in two ways: one has been in the discovery of the major role played by the oral transmission of tradition in the ancient Near East; the other has been an awareness of the communal functions of literary types (*Gattungen*), e.g., the psalm types for lament and thanksgiving after deliverance and for public praise at agricultural and royal festivals. In other words, the preoccupation of the nineteenth century with literary criticism has been corrected by inquiry into the oral stages of the development of traditions, and the tendency to think of the writers as independent authors has been corrected by a recognition of the fixed character of certain traditions reached already in the oral stages and also impressed by the life situation (*Sitz im Leben*) in which the traditions were repeated.

The historical reconstruction of the religion of Israel has been even more significantly modified. It is now recognized that the Wellhausen transposition of law and prophets was as one-sided as the older view of the law's priority had been. Law was seen to have ancient rootage in the life of Israel, not only during the

united monarchy but still earlier—in the time of the tribal league. The prophets appealed to certain ancient traditions of right. There are decided differences of opinion as to whether the beginnings of Israel's distinctive faith are to be found in the time of the patriarchs (Buber), in the age of Moses (Albright; Rowley), or during the formation of the tribal league at the time of the conquest (Noth; Meek). For a great majority of scholars the historicity of the patriarchs is still in the shadow. Moses appears as a more substantial historical figure and nowadays is apparently regarded by a majority of Old Testament scholars as the initiator of Yahwism. This is not to say, however, that most interpreters share Albright's view that Moses was a monotheist. On the contrary, the Nineteenth Century judgment that there is significant religious development from Moses to Deutero-Isaiah still holds sway, but in less dogmatic form. The terminology is admittedly difficult, but many now speak of Moses as an "implicit monotheist" or a "mono-Yahwist," whereas Deutero-Isaiah is considered an "explicit monotheist" or a "full monotheist."

In the reconstruction of the religious history of Israel the cult is given a new significance. By cult is meant organized public ritual. The prophets are felt to have been more dependent upon the official religious life of Israel than appears from their open attacks upon priest and sacrifice. It is possible to argue that some of the canonical prophets were "cultic prophets." The cultic forms at the local sanctuaries and in the royal temple at Jerusalem were richly varied throughout Israel's history. Many of the Psalms must be seen as the products of this formal practice. The post-exilic period, once regarded as a dark age, is seen of late to have been a time of significant religious ferment. It did not invent the law, although it preserved and elevated it. Its own reorganized cult encouraged the collection and editing of the Psalms. Its sages compiled aphorisms and wrote tracts on the divine government of the world. Its frustrated hopes for God's will to be fulfilled on earth found expression in the lurid symbolism of apocalyptic. It was in some ways the most important of all the pre-Christian ages, for it was in this period that the former state-attached religion of Yahwism or Hebraism became the non-political religion of Judaism. In one sense the Israelite faith did not lose its political character, for it continued to entertain the utmost concern for man in his collective responsibilities. However, it did lose any necessary connection with particular states. This shift was accomplished not without compromises and alterations, notably an emphasis upon human fidelity to the point where only small parties of Jews

were able to perform all that God required. But the success of the post-exilic period in maintaining and deepening the ancient faith should not be diminished in any way—and certainly not in order to provide a foil for Christianity. Early Christianity is not made to look strong by making Judaism look weak. A biased depreciation of the one serves only in the end to depreciate both.

Can it be said that the “new look” in Old Testament studies is really an entirely novel wardrobe, or is it simply a lifting or lowering of the hemline? Some ardent believers in the new fashions present them as something radically new which will replace all older literary-historical criticism. So speaks Ivan Engnell of Uppsala, Sweden, who “sees red” at the mention of Wellhausen and literary criticism. Yet in almost the same sentence with which he sweeps it aside as anachronistic, he insists that his own tradition-historical method includes literary criticism. In a paper delivered at the Third International Old Testament Congress at Oxford, 1959, he spoke in this seemingly contradictory way.² In the opinion of many who heard his brilliant and humorous speech, he has not yet succeeded in showing that tradition history *replaces* literary and historical criticism. Tradition history significantly *supplements* literary and historical criteria with cultural factors which give weight to oral tradition and cultic practice; but we have yet to see a tradition-historical reconstruction of the history of religion which does more than offer revisions of the Wellhausen position. The more detailed the tradition historians become in their analyses, the less they seem really at odds with Wellhausen’s methodology. After one tradition historian had given a paper at the Oxford Congress in which he constantly referred to the “pre-Deuteronomic history of the ark” and mentioned the Pentateuchal sources JE and P, one scholar was heard to ask: “Why is it that tradition historians are at liberty to speak of JEDP, but when I speak of them I am supposedly ‘anachronistic’?”

It is sometimes thought that the new look in Old Testament studies is more conservative in its evaluation of the historical trustworthiness of biblical traditions. There is a measure of truth in this impression. Oral tradition is observed to have been often a preservative factor. Moses is restored to significance as the “founder” of Hebrew religion. The prophets deepen rather than replace the religious traditions which preceded them. Archaeology is said to corroborate the biblical history at many points, if not actually “prove” it. But there is much in the newer phase of

² “Methodological Aspects of Old Testament Study,” *Congress Volume, Oxford, 1959* (Leiden, 1960).

study that points the other way, and defenders of the faith should not embrace modern trends too enthusiastically, unless they are ready either to think or to be impaled by their own weapons. Oral transmission not only preserves traditions but also changes them; it deletes and adds. It provides a very different kind of truth than historically documented data. The revival of interest in the cult has led some interpreters to see no essential difference between the cult in Israel and that of her neighbors. Israel too belonged to the cyclical pattern of ancient Near Eastern thought, at least until late in her experience. Sigmund Mowinckel suggests, for example, that it was the frustration of cultic hopes during the Exile that created Israelite eschatology. Archaeological confirmation of particular elements in the Old Testament may not properly be said to "prove" any of the basic Jewish or Christian claims about the Bible, any more than archaeological disproof of certain biblical traditions disproves the Christian claims. It is also worth cautioning that archaeological discoveries not only support some biblical accounts, but also throw doubt on others, for instance the report of the capture of Ai in the book of Joshua.

So the present situation is highly complex. Literary and historical criticism hold their own as valid methods of biblical study. Some of the structures of the nineteenth century remain unimpaired, others have been demolished, but still others—and the larger number—have been rebuilt, or at least renovated. The present trend is in the direction of a synthesis which is slowly taking shape, as is evident in the renewal of interest in the history of the religion of Israel and in the publication of a number of theologies of the Old Testament which seek to integrate descriptive, synthetic, and normative concerns.³ Of this synthesis I have elsewhere remarked:

Of course a synthesis is more easily held as an ideal than worked out in practice. The truth is that constructive scholarship, which must have time to reflect and assimilate, has not been able to keep pace with the great mass of data that analytical scholarship has placed at our disposal. We see the parts and the several aspects of the Old Testament far better than we see the whole. In these formative and crucial days it is perhaps the better part of wisdom not to force a synthesis, but it is equally important not to impede advance through timidity or scholarly dogmatism.⁴

³ Edmond Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* (London, 1958); G. A. F. Knight, *A Christian Theology of the Old Testament* (London, 1957); L. H. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* (London, 1953); T. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology* (Oxford, 1958).

⁴ *A Light to the Nations* (New York, 1959), p. 11.

The third phase, which emerged out of the two preceding, has been profoundly influenced by the revival of theology during the past forty years and has, conversely, supplied the theological revival with firmer biblical grounding. The Old Testament is recognized as a unique collection of documents. The uniqueness inheres in the Old Testament's radical theocentricity, which is not the same as its religiosity. It is certainly possible to adduce other literature, both Christian and non-Christian, which is just as religious as the Old Testament, in fact more so. "The decisive ethos of the Old Testament is not religious in some vague or sentimental fashion, but it is radically religious in that all self-understanding begins with knowledge of God."⁵ It should be added that in Hebrew thought true understanding of God leads to a different way of looking at the self and at other selves. An ethic of social responsibility is the inevitable concomitant of the Old Testament view of God.

The crux of Old Testament study today lies in this question: In what way is the uniqueness of Hebrew faith to be observed empirically? How is Hebrew faith related to the history of the religion of Israel? That there are important connections is beyond dispute. In essence it may be said that a large portion of the Old Testament literature is a confessional literature. It is recognized that the amorphous agglomeration of traditions in the Pentateuch has occurred by way of enlargement of a relatively simple basic confession of faith, which has for its main elements the call of Israel from Egypt, the covenant at the mountain (Sinai-Horeb), the wandering in the wilderness, and the occupation of the land. Preceding these themes is that of the call of the fathers (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) which is prefixed to the Exodus traditions. On the other side, the theme of the covenant with David is appended in the traditions of Samuel and Kings. These are the basic ingredients of Israel's pre-exilic *credo*, which found various forms of expression in different circles of tradition and at different periods of historical crisis.

The prophets do not represent a rejection of this *credo*, but a radical extension and reinterpretation of its basic principles, first of all in the total life of Israel in all its social, economic, political, and cultic dimensions, and secondly in the life of the nations—until Yahweh was seen as the single Lord of the cosmos. The prophets, while fierce critics of the status quo, were precisely the forerunners of Judaism in that they made it possible for Jews to bridge the terrible events of political and social upheaval following

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the collapse of the independent states of Israel in 722 and of Judah in 587. In fact they were so successful in providing the chief elements of post-exilic religious ideology that their interpretation of the fall of Jerusalem as judgment upon national sin and of the Exile as a period of purgation became parts of the extended post-exilic *credo* of confessing Yahwists.

Along such lines as the above a clearer unity in the Old Testament is now being sketched than seemed possible a half century ago. The variety is still real enough, and the unity discernible is not monolithic and mathematical but dynamic and complex, partaking of the richness of historical development.

The theocentric unity of the Old Testament may be said to consist in its conception of *the relation of God and man*, which tends to turn upon the notion of the *covenant* by which a sovereignly free and powerful and sole God binds himself to a people who are called, in spite of their sinful failings, to respond in loving obedience to his gracious will. A close concomitant of the covenant relationship is *the eschatological hope*, that is, the drive within Hebrew faith toward fulfilment, often in simple nationalistic forms but frequently also in the expectation of a community of nations under one loving and just divine will. A third significant facet of the Old Testament's theocentric unity is the notion of *creation*, which, though unevenly represented throughout the Old Testament, comes as the logical fruition of the more dominant themes of covenant and eschatology. The covenant God of grace is seen as the maker of heaven and earth, which gives a deeper faith in the ultimacy of his power for good and makes possible a neutralization of the attraction of pagan religions. With the belief in a single Creator, monotheism comes to its full flower.

For the confessing Jewish or Christian scholar, the deepest truth of the Old Testament is that all of the above truths find their coherence in a community of confessing people who live the totality of their existence under the will of the God confessed. Israel has her special significance in being the Servant of God, and in her political death there is spiritual life for the nations. The basic features of Christianity are already adumbrated in the leading configurations of Old Testament faith. What is new is the unique person of Jesus Christ, who realized the basic themes of Jewish faith with a new power. Historically and spiritually Christianity is merely a universal form of Judaism.

By bringing into close conjunction the ancient Oriental character of the Old Testament and its confessional theological uniqueness, the following question is set before us in the sharpest possible

way: How is the Old Testament the Word of God? The answer seems to be that it is the Word of God insofar as we see the church as the continuity of God's people, i.e., as the community of men who have beheld God's work in the world and who seek to respond in loving obedience.

It is obvious, then, that to ask in what manner the Old Testament is the Word of God is also necessarily to ask: What is the church? Church and Bible are brought together in an indissoluble union, and the customary pious shibboleths will be of little help in understanding either. If Scripture is "written for us," this can only mean that its basic content displays certain patterns in the relation between God and man which serve to guide us. It is in the matters of covenant and church, of eschatology and creation, that we look for the relevance of the Old Testament in our time. In this way we come under the judgment of the Word of God through the Old Testament. Otherwise discussion of the canon becomes a purely academic riddle posed and toyed with by people who do not really expect an answer.

The Old Testament therefore stands before and speaks within the Christian Church with all of its ineradicable theocentricity. It lays its awesome ethical claim upon us. It demands that we answer to the Lord of the church and of the world. And it demands that we answer in the midst of this unbelievably complex and ethically evasive age. No Christian can mark off any area of his life or of the life of groups and nations as "out of bounds" to the theological and, therefore, ethical claims of the sovereign Lord. The genuine test of whether we truly regard the Bible as the Word of God is simply this: do we open all areas of life to its searching demand? Or are our means of earning money, our treatment of other races, and our espousal of weapons of total destruction regarded as matters unsuited to the logic of biblical faith?

Most of the practical answers to the question of the locus of the authority of the Bible have already been given by the various branches of Christendom: the written word, the Holy Spirit, the individual believer, and the church have their roles to play in releasing and confirming Christian truth. The epistemological problem, which is at the root of the metaphysical and theological unrest of our period ("How do we know what we know and how do we know that what we know is objectively true?"), is a question not likely to yield an immediate answer to further inquiry. But at the point where theology and ethics meet there is much yet to learn of the truth of the prophetic and apostolic faith. The one-sided pessimism about man typical of the new theology has run its

course. Something better is now demanded of us. We can practice the biblical truth (without forcing it on others and without disregarding the truths achieved by other disciplines of human knowledge) in order to determine its truthfulness—not in the abstract, but in its capacity to create a human community. Failure to live in such a community brings mankind ever closer to the utter chaos of self-destruction. The Old Testament revived in living men summons nations to smash their idols and to confess their limitations in an international community. It is no accident that Karl Barth, the initiator of the theological revival, reports that in his view the chief issue facing Christendom today is its equivocal answer to atomic warfare.

I am profoundly grateful for the rediscovery of the theological uniqueness of Scripture, but as a son of the Anabaptist heritage and as a student of the Old Testament, I believe that the Bible's theological and ethical uniqueness needs restatement in the lives of Christians who are willing to test the power of God eschatologically and to call men and nations to the bar of his judgment.

The Minister and the Psalms

JOHN H. SCAMMON

Every teacher has his favorite course. Mine is OT 302, "The Psalms." It has just been given for the fifth time, four times at Andover Newton and once in the Middle East; and parts of it have been used in "Universities of Life" and in teacher training schools. Soon after the course ended this May, a letter came from an alumnus of our school, a busy parish minister who had been enrolled. It read: "In preparation for my paper, I read the entire book [of Psalms] the week . . . [my wife] went to the . . . hospital and was so sick. It took on a whole new meaning for me."

This is not the usual comment about this section of Scripture. At a High School summer assembly a boy wrote the following (and his punctuation and spelling are followed meticulously): "This Psalm [139] is very near to me. It makes me feel very good and reminds me that the lord is whaching over me."

A frequent reaction among ministers is not a comment at all; it is an unspoken assumption. The tenor of it is this: "I preach from the *New Testmaent*. That's the gospel, isn't it? Well, that's good enough for me!"

Granted that most of us use the Psalter more often than any other *Old Testament* book; yet how long has it been since you finished reading the Psalms, all one hundred and fifty of them? In the Roman church the priest covers the entire book each week; most Protestant ministers do not go through it once in a decade!

Yet Jesus Christ loved the Psalms. He quoted from the collection more often than from any other part of the Old Testament—which was his Bible. What is more, he quoted from it when he was dying; in such a moment one draws upon what is closest and dearest, not what is on the periphery.

There are other things which *should* make us love the Psalms—reasons like their centuries-long use in temple, synagogue, and church. Or, quite a different argument: there are few biblical books about which *very real difficulties make truly less difference*. The illiterate and the learned have both found strength in their phrases. Think of all the people in the world who, whatever their background, color, or language, love the twenty-third Psalm!

And a final reason why this book *should* appeal to the Christian: the Psalms grow right out of life and all its complexities, rather than out of the professor's study or classroom.

The rest of this article will be an attempt to answer three questions: (1) How can the minister use the Psalms more effectively in preaching? (2) How can he use them more inspiringly in the Sunday morning responsive reading? And (3) How can he use them more helpfully in his devotional study?

1 *The Psalms and Preaching*

Let us start in with an illustration of how *not* to preach from the Psalms. The author happened to see a second-hand book advertised with the following details: "T. Manton, 190 Sermons on the 119th Psalm (3d ed. London, 1842)." One of the students in the class located a copy in a nearby library and it turned out to be a series of one hundred and ninety sermons *preached on consecutive Sundays* on a Psalm which is certainly not one of the greatest! Just think—this series lasted over three and one-half years! We should like to know what verses were used for, say, three Christmas Sundays and four Easters! It is no wonder that in the copy there was some pencilling in the front: "This series of sermons stands as the beginning of — —'s [the name has been erased] dislike of religion."

Some years ago the writer quizzed (by a questionnaire—and how we hate them!) twenty-two fellow members of a club composed of ministers. The object was to find out how many of the twenty-two had preached sermons from the Psalms. How often had they done so? What kinds of sermons were produced?

One comment was disillusioning. One of the ablest of the younger ministers wrote:

I cannot recall ever preaching a sermon on any Psalm. I have never, frankly, felt qualified to do it, or have I ever discovered preaching values there. For devotional use many, of course, are incomparable, but by and large, I must say it has been a neglected book.

Then he added, "I know I am wrong in this."

And another of the twenty-two replied, "Interestingly enough, I cannot remember having preached a sermon specifically from the Psalms."

Just think—these comments were made of a book of which it has been said: "If a history of the use of the Psalter could be written, it would be a history of the spiritual life of the Church."¹

¹ A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Psalms* ("Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges"; Cambridge, 1902), p. xcvi.

John H. Scammon, one-time minister of First Baptist Church, Weston, Mass., has been at Andover Newton since 1936. From 1939 to 1956 he edited the BULLETIN. He is now Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament.

Furthermore, the questionnaire revealed what the reader of these lines already knows: that good sermons are sometimes based on the wrong text. For example, an excellent sermon topic was given: "The Dangers of Middle Life," and the reference was to the moral perils of the middle years. But the trouble lay in the text that was used: Psalm 91:6; "the destruction that wastes at noon-day" *just doesn't mean that!*

My suggestion is that if we want to learn to preach good sermons on the Psalter, we should study (not preach!) some of the great examples. For example, the Venerable Bede, who died in A.D. 735, gave a lively story sermon on Psalm 85:10; the title is taken right from the text, "Mercy and Truth Are Met Together."² And what a classic is Percy C. Ainsworth's sermon, "Star Counting and Heart Healing," based on Psalm 147:3,4.³ Here the theme is the glory and the mercy of God; he counts stars. He also heals hearts! Why don't you start collecting and studying great sermons on the Psalms?

There is a sermon by Harry Emerson Fosdick, "Spiritual Foundations for a Better World,"⁴ based on Psalm 11:3. As for the much-loved twenty-third, compare such different and at the same time superb examples as George A. Gordon's "Why I Love the Twenty-third Psalm"⁵ and Henry Van Dyke's "A Shepherd's Song About His Shepherd."⁶ Then there is Paul Tillich's "The Escape from God" in his *Shaking of the Foundations*,⁷ based on the 139th; and Newell Dwight Hillis' "There Go The Ships,"⁸ Psalm 104:26—to say nothing of good sermons (which the author of this article will be glad to locate for any reader) by G. H. Morrison, Horace Bushnell, W. E. Orchard, F. W. Robertson, Ralph Sockman, James Denney, Phillips Brooks, Joseph Fort Newton, Edgar De Witt Jones, W. Russell Bowie, and Charles W. Gilkey.

I have in my notes references to four fine sermons on the Psalter by Andover Newton alumni: Harold V. Jensen's "A Very Present Help"⁹ (46:1), with an excellent *five-point* outline (an

² Clarence E. Macartney (ed.), *Great Sermons of the World* (Boston, 1926), pp. 59–65.

³ Ozora S. Davis, *Principles of Preaching* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 170–179.

⁴ In his *A Great Time To Be Alive* (New York, 1944), pp. 42–51.

⁵ In his *Unto Victory* (Boston, 1927), pp. 129–141.

⁶ In his *Story of the Psalms* (New York, 1887), pp. 27–36.

⁷ (New York, 1948), pp. 38–51.

⁸ Charles Clayton Morrison (ed.), *The American Pulpit* (New York, 1925), pp. 123–136.

⁹ G. Paul Butler (ed.), *Best Sermons, 1946 Edition* (New York, 1946), pp. 43–47.

iconoclast!); Frank Fagerburg's "The Best Way To Thank God"¹⁰ (116:13); Samuel M. Lindsay's "A Song of Thanksgiving"¹¹ (107); and Charles L. Seasholes' "The Problem of Good"¹² (27:13).

Now let us take one Psalm and be very concrete. About the classic fifty-first, Professor John Paterson wrote in a recent work, "Here we stand in the forecourt of the Christian temple, as in most impressive fashion, the great realities of Sin, Grace, and Forgiveness are set forth."¹³

But do not read this next section if you still belong to that generation represented by the following question: "Wouldn't the world be better off if the words 'sin,' 'lust,' etc. *ad infinitum* had never been coined? Is it not about time . . . to banish the antiquated notion of sin . . . ?"¹⁴ Somehow, however, this doesn't seem to represent the realistic thinking of today, a decade in which, for example, an eighteen-year-old Marine, on leave, comes back home, murders a college student for his car, picks up his girl friend, and "takes off." And before he is captured he has killed four more people in robberies which net him \$60.¹⁵

What is sin? What is forgiveness? May I suggest that it will stimulate your thinking on these questions if you will read the first few verses of the fifty-first psalm in just as many different modern translations as you can find: Revised Standard, Moffatt, Smith-Goodspeed, Berkeley, Confraternity, McFadyen, Knox, and Basic English.¹⁶ (Do not forget that the numbering of most psalms in Roman Catholic versions is usually one less than in the others.)

What is sin? The first two verses contain three extraordinary picture words. Sin is (1) *completely missing something one has aimed at*—the goal, the target, the road. This is translated "sin" in verse 2. A second definition is *mutiny* or *rebellion* (the "transgression" of verse 1). Then, too, sin is *perversion*, a *warping of the personality* ("iniquity" in verse 2); it is the *twisted* life—what a description!

But there are three equally vivid words for forgiveness: (1) *Blot out, wipe out, erase* (verse 1) refer to the removal of a damaging entry in God's "book." (2) In *wash* (verse 2), the root of which means "to tread," we find the Eastern counterpart of the hand

¹⁰ *The Watchman-Examiner*, as quoted in William H. Leach (ed.), *Sermon Hearts from the Psalms* (Nashville, 1936), pp. 261-262.

¹¹ *The Watchman-Examiner*, Nov. 19, 1925, pp. 1491-1493.

¹² In his *For Times Out of Joint* (Philadelphia, 1934), pp. 21-34.

¹³ *The Praises of Israel* (New York, 1950), p. 98.

¹⁴ S. Parkes Cadman, *Answers to Everyday Questions* (New York, 1930), p. 190.

¹⁵ This incident occurred in 1953.

¹⁶ See "List of Helpful Books" at the end of this article.

scrubbing of clothes. (3) *Cleanse* (verse 2) is often used in the Old Testament of ritual washing, as in the case of one who has just been declared free from the taint of a dread disease.

Note that the author of Psalm 51 does not offer excuses. There is no ancient counterpart of "O God, Thou knowest that I was not myself the day I did that ugly thing. I got off to a bad start with an argument at breakfast; then everything went wrong at the office . . ." No; the writer simply asks, "Have mercy . . . blot out . . . wash . . . cleanse . . ."

Jot down what the first six verses tell us of *the character of God*. He is completely loving (verse 1a), deeply compassionate (1b), rigorously just (4), wholly demanding (6a). And then see what they tell us *about ourselves*! We are overwhelmingly in God's debt (1b), tarnished and unclean (2), estranged from God (3), sinful children of sinful parents (5) (but there is no doctrine here of original sin), and we are deeply conscious of overwhelming need (6).

You might well spend a month on this great penitential psalm in your daily devotional period, building up a file of four-by-six cards (one per verse) with all the information you can gather from all possible sources. You will be surprised at the growth of your file. And do not conclude your study until you have compared three *New Testament* definitions of sin: Jas. 4:17; Ro. 3:23; and 1 John 5:17. (Please look these up before you read further.)

Has enough been said to suggest that the Psalms have a word for a minister who says, "I'm running out of ideas for Biblical preaching"?

2 *The Psalms in the Responsive Reading*

Now let us look at the somewhat troublesome question of responsive readings in the Sunday morning service. It is amazing to see how many ministers are quietly dropping these!

One reason is a realistic realization that nobody in the congregation is paying the slightest attention to the meaning of the words. After the first couple of phrases have been read, minds have flown far beyond the church walls to what is to be had for dinner, what is to be done that evening, or what is to be thought about that nearby teenager.

This author does not believe that the reason for abandoning responsive readings lies in the imprecations found in certain psalms, for these have already been deleted before the reading was ever printed in the hymnbook. (The question of curses in the Psalter is dealt with in the next section of this paper.) The reasons must be sought elsewhere.

Let us say parenthetically that the trend *away* from the use of the responsive reading by the congregation comes, strangely enough, when the pioneer work of Gunkel and of Mowinckel has emphasized the *group* use of the Psalms in Hebrew worship. The first assignment in my course is to read A. R. Johnson's brilliant and comprehensive summary of work on the Psalms in the years between 1920 and 1950.¹⁷ This assignment is given the class a second time as the course concludes. As Professor Rowley says in his Introduction to this most useful series of essays, "Of few books of the Old Testament has recent study been so profoundly modified as the Psalter."¹⁸ Questions of their date and background are less studied today than those of their use in group worship—at the very time when *Christian* congregations are questioning their value for such purposes!

If the reason for abandoning responsive readings in the morning service is that their words are meaningless, whose fault is it that they are meaningless? Let me make a few practical suggestions as to how to put meaning into them.

If I were a parish minister again, I would surprise my congregation some Sunday morning. At the time for the anthem, the choir would rise as usual, but then instead of praising God with music it would present all the striking and effective variations of a practiced speech chorus, rendering, now antiphonally, now in solos, now in unison, a majestic psalm. Done under a competent leader, with voices completely together, such a presentation would prove an unforgettable experience.

Another suggestion is being carried out by one of the alumni of our School. He never lets a congregation *wander thoughtlessly* into the reading of the Psalter. With two or three well-chosen sentences, he focuses the thought of his people on the idea about to be expressed in words of Scripture; then they join in reading.

Some smaller group in the church might well make a study of psalm singing in colonial America. I use in my course a very striking recording which I heartily recommend to the readers of this article. It illustrates what the congregational rendering of the *Bay Psalm Book* selections must have sounded like in the seventeenth century in New England.¹⁹ Here are eight psalms, each in a

¹⁷ In H. H. Rowley (ed.), *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 162–206.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

¹⁹ Number NRLP 2007, "Early American Psalmody: the Bay Psalm Book," recorded by the Margaret Dodd Singers. New Records, Inc., 155-03 Bayside Ave., Flushing 54, N. Y.

different meter; the precentor lines out the melody, and the congregation follows, often singing in parts. Since reprints of the rare *Bay Psalm Book* are in print, it is well for the study group to have in hand, before listening to the record, the metrical arrangement of the words of the Psalter.

If you want your people to learn what an impressive *responsive* reading is like, teach them what an impressive *pastoral* reading of the *Scripture lesson* is. The two go hand in hand. If one is dull and meaningless, the other is likely to be. And to learn to read the Bible in the pulpit yourself, among other things study the recorded readings of a master like Charles Laughton.

You see, you do not need to abandon the responsive reading in your church; you do need to take every possible step to make it intelligible, striking, and uplifting!

3 *The Psalms and Devotional Reading*

Finally, let us consider how to use the Psalms for devotional purposes.

How many moods can you think of quickly? Let us jot down a few: loneliness, courage, despair, doubt, hatred, trust, discouragement, joy, guilt, sorrow, anxiety, fear, resentment, consecration, longing for a sense of God's presence—now think that *all these are represented in the pages of the Psalms!*

Take just one of these: the feeling that God is absent. I asked some High School students at a summer conference to write, without the signing of any names, of times in their lives when God seemed far away. Here are some of their answers:

"When my sister ran away from home."

"When nothing was going right at home, in school, and with my friends."

"One time last year my parents and I couldn't agree on anything."

"When I tried to follow the gang instead of acting in my normal way."

"When the cares of school and other work were so depressing as to blot out the feeling of God's presence."

How different from the comment made about the young Christian theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was hanged by the Nazis in 1955. An English officer, imprisoned with him during his last weeks, wrote, "He was one of the very few persons I have ever met for whom God was real and always near."²⁰

²⁰ John W. Deberstein, Introduction to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Life Together* (New York, 1954), p. 13.

The 139th Psalm deals very concretely with the matter of whether God is here or there. Kirkpatrick says of it, "The consciousness of the intimate personal relation between God and man which is characteristic of the whole Psalter reaches its climax here."²¹

The first suggestion as to this point is like the one already made in regard to the fifty-first Psalm. Read it through in every modern translation on which you can lay your hands! (Remember again that in most Roman Catholic translations it will be numbered 138.) Read it as if you had never seen it before, and with the mood in mind of one who feels that God is far away. What happens?

What is the author saying about God? (1) God knows every thought I think, and every deed I do (verses 1-6); (2) I cannot run away from him, no matter where I go (7-12); (3) this is not surprising, for he watched me even when I was growing in my mother's womb (13-18); how can such a God stand evil men? May he keep me from being one of them! (19-24).

Here is one person's answer to the question, Is God far away? And rather than making him afraid, the sense that God is so near makes him glad!

Of course, if you want to use high-sounding phrases, you can say, "God is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent." But how much better to put it: "God is everywhere, knows all, and is all-powerful!" The Psalmist is saying to us (as J. B. Phillips puts it), "Your God is too small!"²²

If you feel that God is rather remote and not very much concerned about your life, the study of Psalm 139 may cause a minor (or major) revolution in your attitude! For the author seems to be pointing a finger and saying, "You cannot go anywhere today but what God will be there first, waiting for you. You had better not try to do anything questionable under cover of the dark, for God can see in that, just exactly as well as in the light! You cannot run away from him!" (And the implication is that you do not want to.)

"Oh," you say, "but you have not even mentioned those awful verses, 19-22. They spoil it all!" Well, let us face these sentiments very squarely. Read the verses again.

Let us look at them in the light of seven statements which we shall now make.

(1) Try going to the other extreme. Ask yourself, What if my Bible had nothing in it except loving phrases? Should some of

²¹ *The Psalms* ("Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges"; Cambridge, 1902), p. 785.

²² This is the title of Phillips' book.

the words of Job be expunged? Should not very human reactions be represented somewhere in the Bible and be given their *proper* place?

(2) Ask yourself how long ago this psalm may have been written. Is it quite fair to judge the author in the light of nineteen centuries of the Christian dispensation?

(3) Is this the best statement of its kind, even in the *Old* Testament? On the matter of the treatment of enemies, read, right now, aloud, Lev. 19:17, 18 and Ex. 23:4, 5.

(4) Raise the question whether it was meant absolutely literally. Perhaps it was. But sometimes, in Semitic poetry, overstatement has a place in order to produce a startling effect. Is 69:28 a case in point? Or should this be interpreted very literally?

(5) Perhaps such a sentiment can be accounted for in part by a different angle of vision from ours: the Psalmist said "I hate sinners," when we say, "I hate the sin!"

(6) The author's basic motive is one of complete loyalty to the right; he could never be described as a lukewarm, "extremely open-minded" person. As C. S. Lewis remarks, "If the Jews cursed more bitterly than the Pagans this was, I think, at least in part because they took right and wrong more seriously."²³

(7) Finally, most of the Psalmists lived prior to a general, clear-cut belief in a future life with rewards and punishments. Consequently they felt that a just God had only *this* life in which to requite evildoers and recompense the righteous.

You may still wish that verses 19-22 were not a part of this magnificent psalm; I do; but they *are* a part of it, and I suggest that you make sure you do not pay so much attention to the trees that you miss the forest!

The Psalmists never discuss the intellectual possibility of the existence of God; they tell *what it means* to have such a belief. And what a powerful antidote is Psalm 139 to the feeling that God is far away!

Two final suggestions for your devotional reading have to do, first, with commentaries. You must read all kinds, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish. (See the suggested list at the close of this article.) Soon you will find which ones are likely to be helpful; but so often excellent suggestions appear in unlikely places!

And then, why not collect hymns that are based on the Psalter? The new *Pilgrim Hymnal*, for example, lists in the "Index of Authors, Translators, and Sources" forty-one hymns

²³ *Reflections on the Psalms*, London, England: Geoffrey Bles, 1958, p. 30.

based on thirty different psalms! And look up the story of the writing of some of them in Bailey's *The Gospel in Hymns*.²⁴

Do you see the possibilities that this great section of the Old Testament offers for answers to the minister's devotional moods and feelings?

Would you, the reader of these lines, like to have the Psalms take on new meaning in your life as a minister? The author of this article would be glad to make further definite suggestions to any readers who may care to go on with some of these ideas. He is also interested in getting information and help from those parish ministers who have achieved results along some of these lines.

Some years ago a prominent alumnus of Andover Newton, the Rev. Edward A. Estaver, died at the age of forty-nine, after having occupied a leading position in the Massachusetts Baptist Convention. What messages impressed him during the sixteen months in which he was ill? The most appreciated words that came to him were, "We are remembering you in our prayers." But there was also that passage in Psalm thirty-seven, in Moffatt's translation, which came to mean so much more to him than it ever had before: "When a man's life pleases the Eternal, He gives him a sure footing; he may fall, but he never falls down, for the Eternal holds him by the hand."

For "the Psalter will live as long as men are moved by the impulse to praise and to pray."²⁵

LIST OF HELPFUL BOOKS

TEXTS

In addition to the Revised Standard Version try:

Moffatt, James (tr.). *A New Translation of the Bible*. Rev. ed. New York: Harper & Bros., 1935.

Smith, J. M. P., and Goodspeed, E. J. (eds.). *The Complete Bible, An American Translation*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939.

Catholic Biblical Association of America. *The Holy Bible, Translated from the Original Languages*. Sponsored by the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1952-. In five volumes, two of which have already appeared (Vol. 1, Gen.-Ruth; Vol. 3, Job-Sirach). Excellent.

The Basic Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments in Basic English. New York: Dutton, 1950.

Knox, Ronald, (tr.). *The Old Testament*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1948-50. 2 vols.

McFadyen, J. E., (tr.). *The Psalms in Modern Speech and Rhythmical Form*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1916.

²⁴ (New York, 1950).

²⁵ John Edgar McFadyen, *The Messages of the Psalmists*, Vol. V of *The Messages of the Bible*, ed. Frank K. Sanders and Charles F. Kent (12 vols.; New York, 1904), p. xii.

COMMENTARIES

There is no one, first-rate commentary on the Psalms.

James, Fleming. *Thirty Psalmists*. New York: Putnam, 1938. Excellent so far as it goes; we wish the author had written a full-length commentary.

Oesterley, W. O. E. *The Psalms*. New York: Macmillan, 1940. Representative of the newer approach.

Kirkpatrick, A. F. *The Book of Psalms* ("Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges"). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press., 1912. While based on the older atomistic approach, this is still a most helpful commentary.

Leslie, E. A. *The Psalms*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1949. Up-to-date, but uncritical in its adoption of the Enthronement Festival theory.

Kissane, E. J. *The Book of Psalms*. New York: Newman Press, 1953-54. 2 vols. Roman Catholic. Good piece of work.

McCullough, W. S., and Taylor, W. R. *The Book of Psalms* (Interpreter's Bible, Vol. IV). New York: Abingdon, 1955. Not an outstanding treatment in this series, but useful.

MISCELLANEOUS

Johnson, A. R. "The Psalms," in Rowley, H. H. (ed.), *The Old Testament and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. 162-206. A magnificent survey of recent work.

Prothero, R. E. *The Psalms in Human Life*. New York: Nelson, 1903. A classic on the influence the Psalter has had. More recent is Stoddart, J. T. *The Psalms for Every Day, With a Thousand Illustrations from Life and Literature*. Nashville: Cokesbury, 1940.

Smith, J. M. P. *The Religion of the Psalms*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1922.

Oesterley, W. O. E. *A Fresh Approach to the Psalms*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1937.

Recent Studies in the Fourth Gospel

RUSSELL C. TUCK

When, in 1936, C. H. Dodd gave his inaugural address as Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, he chose as his subject "The Present Task in New Testament studies." In the course of his address he naturally gave consideration to the Fourth Gospel. His words indicate the importance to be attached to studies in this area and to the central place of the Gospel itself: "I am disposed to think that the understanding of this Gospel is not only one of the outstanding tasks of our time, but the crucial test of our success or failure in solving the problem of the New Testament as a whole." It was his feeling that at the end of the nineteenth century New Testament scholarship was at an impasse. Neither conservative nor liberal could claim victory. During the early decades of the twentieth century advance was made, not along the lines of critical analysis but in the study of the background of Johannine thought. At the time of his address Dodd could state that we "seem to be approaching the point at which the baffling thought of the Fourth Gospel begins to clarify itself by being intelligibly related to a known environment."

At the midpoint of this century A. M. Hunter in a most useful book, *Interpreting the New Testament 1900-1950*, turned his academic eye on the Fourth Gospel. He makes it clear that the Johannine problem is more than a question of whether John the son of Zebedee wrote the Gospel, and when, where and why. After reviewing the work of a dozen scholars ranging from the conservative though Unitarian, James Drummond to Rudolf Bultmann, he is able to arrive at what amounts to a scholarly consensus regarding trends related to the "staple" questions of the Johannine debate.

While all scholars would by no means agree at all points with Hunter, his survey may be regarded as a fair summary of opinion, always remembering that no summary can voice every divergent opinion.

There is very general agreement that the Gospel was written by A.D. 100, an opinion strengthened by the Rylands Papyrus fragment of the Gospel. Ephesus is widely accepted as the place of writing, with minority opinions for either Antioch or Alexandria. In contrast to the formula of a "*Grundschrift* and several redactors" is a strong tendency to regard the Gospel as a unity. There is much less inclination to rearrange the Gospel material, several scholars

being "skeptical about dislocations." In recent years the trend has been to look to Judaism rather than to Hellenism for the spiritual background of the Gospel. It is harder to find an answer to the question: Who wrote the Gospel? "The conservative position does not look nearly so indefensible as it did, say, twenty years ago." British scholars, at least, incline to a disciple of the Apostle. The crucial problems are "the historical value and essential meaning of the Gospel." Recent scholarship tends to find more history and less allegory in John and to recognize that the Evangelist "builds on what he believes to be real history."

The work of Hunter may be supplemented by C. K. Barrett's revision of Wilbert F. Howard's *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism*, especially the two chapters provided by Barrett: "Criticism of the Fourth Gospel, 1931-1953" and "Interpreting the Fourth Gospel, 1931-1953."

We make no attempt to cover all the material on the Fourth Gospel which has appeared in the decade since Hunter wrote. That the Gospel continues to receive serious attention is abundantly evident. It is our purpose to mention some of the important publications which, it is believed, may be profitably pursued.

Any bibliography of the Fourth Gospel indicates how much we are indebted to British scholarship—Westcott, Scott, Macgregor, Bernard, Hoskyns, Howard, to mention but a few. Current studies give evidence that British scholarship is still very active in the field.

We are today witnessing a conspicuous interest in Bible study which is resulting in several series of commentaries in addition to those separate volumes which one might expect to appear from time to time. We shall see that John is being well-covered by present day commentators. The two most important commentaries are *The Gospel According to St. John*, by C. K. Barrett, and *St. John's Gospel*, by R. H. Lightfoot. The latter was published posthumously and edited by C. F. Evans. Both commentaries are first-rate works, thorough in their scope and dependable in their judgments. One difference between them is that Barrett's is based on the Greek text—though those who have no command of Greek will still find the volume very useful—while Lightfoot's work uses and prints the English Revised Version. Barrett's work is the more ambitious in length. His introduction is more thorough and extensive. It should be remembered that Lightfoot did not

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live to put in final form the material which is presented in the introduction to his completed commentary. Some elements in the point of view of these two authors will be indicated in the final section of this paper.

A third commentary will perhaps be the best known of this list, since it appears in *The Interpreter's Bible*. The exegesis written by the veteran Johannine scholar, Wilbert F. Howard, and the exposition provided by one of Scotland's great preachers, Arthur John Gossip, make this commentary one of the finest in *The Interpreter's Bible*.

In 1937, Major, Manson and Wright published *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, Wright providing the commentary on John. *Jesus the Revelation of God* appeared in 1950. It is in Wright's own words "a new book. New, not in the sense that nothing previously written is retained. But 'new' in the sense that what I had written on St. John in the tri-partite work . . . has all been re-thought, more re-written, and much added."

Several series of short commentaries have appeared or are in the process of appearing. Able scholars have lent their talent to this work. In the "Torch Bible Commentaries" Alan Richardson has provided the volume on John. In this country Eerdmans is publishing the "Tyndale New Testament Commentaries." The editor of this series, R. V. G. Tasker, is professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of London. He is responsible for John. William Barclay's "The Daily Study Bible" is widely known. He provides two volumes on the Gospel of John. In the "Layman's Bible Commentary," which is in the process of publication, John has been assigned to Floyd V. Filson.

Many readers of this *Quarterly* will be familiar with our own Professor Emeritus James P. Berkeley's *Reading the Gospel of John*. Andover Newton Alumni remember the long and deserved popularity of Professor Berkeley's course on the Fourth Gospel and rejoice that his insights have been put into print. The title happily suggests the purpose of the book—to help *readers* of the Fourth Gospel. "The writer places this reading guide at the disposal of the fellowship of Christian believers. It is, in short, an invitation to 'come and see'." The material of the Gospel is treated topically, the topics being subpoints of an outline which "emphasizes the dramatic nature of the Fourth Gospel."

Eric L. Titus, who is co-author with E. C. Colwell of *The Gospel of the Spirit*, has written *The Message of The Fourth Gospel*. Part I, The Introduction, consists of three chapters: The Evangelist's Literary Method, The Logos, and The Spirit. These are

offered as "especially relevant to the approach presented in the commentary." The method of the commentary is described thus: "A radical difference between this commentary and the vast majority is that it deals with the Gospel material section by section, not verse by verse. An attempt is made to identify natural units of material and to isolate their meaning."

In a class by itself, both because of its method of treatment and importance of content, stands *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* by C. H. Dodd. It is divided into three sections. Part I, The Background, is an attempt to reconstruct the environment out of which the Gospel came. It covers the Hermetic Literature, Philo, Rabbinic Judaism, Gnosticism, and Mandaism. Part II considers the leading ideas such as Symbolism, Eternal Life, Knowledge of God, Spirit, Messiah, Logos. Part III, Argument and Structure, falls into three sections: The Poem, Chapter 1; The Book of Signs, Chapters 2-12; and the Book of The Passion, Chapters 13 ff. "We might put it thus, that the prologue is an account of the life of Jesus under the form of a description of the eternal Logos in its relations with the world and with man, and the rest of the Gospel an account of the Logos under the form of a record of the life of Jesus." The two are bound together by the proposition *the Word became flesh*, which is a "final expression of the relation of the Logos to man and his world, and a summary of the significance of the life of Jesus." The Prologue gives "in the barest skeleton outline, a philosophy of life, or *Weltanschauung*, which is to be filled in out of the Gospel as a whole" (p. 285).

A series of lectures originally written for the Fourth Theology and Ministry Convention which met in 1956 at Christ Church, Oxford, has been edited by F. L. Cross and published under the title *Studies in the Fourth Gospel*. C. H. Dodd leads off with a treatment of the Prologue and Christian Worship. T. H. L. Parker discusses "Karl Barth and the Fourth Gospel." We are accustomed to think of Barth particularly in connection with the Epistle to the Romans. Parker, by means of what he terms the "horrid trade" of statistics, shows that in *Church Dogmatics* Barth refers almost as frequently to John as to Romans. He quotes Barth as saying concerning "the Word became flesh" that it is the central statement of the New Testament. Topics such as "Repentance and the New Birth," "Who was the Disciple whom Jesus Loved?," and "Faith and Vision in the Fourth Gospel" are dealt with by other contributors.

Apart from the books thus far mentioned are several notable articles and separate chapters in books. In a footnote in the Pref-

ace to his commentary, Barrett remarks: "It is now much clearer than it was when I completed the manuscript of this book (on 31 December 1951) that the documents discovered in Palestine in and since 1947 ('Dead Sea Scrolls') called for consideration as part of the background of the Fourth Gospel. I regret that I have not been able to incorporate such consideration, but it would not have substantially modified my work." It is in connection with the relation the Dead Sea Scrolls bear to the Gospel that these articles assume a considerable significance.

A significant article, "The Destination and Purpose of St. John's Gospel" (*New Testament Studies*, January, 1960), by J. A. T. Robinson will be referred to in our summary.

Probably the study which has attracted most attention is "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John" by W. F. Albright. It appears in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, Studies in Honour of C. H. Dodd*. Albright's point of view had been intimated earlier in some of his writings, but he feels that the material from Qumran has given substantiation to his theories which he could not hitherto furnish. Naturally, as a Semitist, he finds the Aramaic theory congenial, although he does not go so far as to accept an Aramaic original which we have in translation, as did Torrey. On the basis of archaeology he points out "topographical illustrations of good ancient tradition found only in John." In the Qumran material there is provided "the closest approach to the Gospels (particularly St. John) and the Pauline Epistles, so far as conceptual background and terminology are concerned." The "ideas reflected in the Gospel were not Gnostic but at best proto-Gnostic."

The Expository Times (October and November, 1959) has published an article by Oscar Cullmann entitled "A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel." Some of the ideas developed in this article are akin to those found in his chapter "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research Into the Beginnings of Christianity" in Krister Stendahl's *The Scrolls and the New Testament*. K. G. Kuhn is quoted (compare Albright) as confirming the theory "that more than the other New Testament writings, this Gospel belongs to an ideological atmosphere most closely related to that of the new texts." Cullmann questions the common conclusion that Christianity developed from an early, narrow Judaistic type to a later universalistic Hellenistic type. This he labels "an artificial *schema*." On the basis of this false schema the presence of Hellenistic elements in the Gospel of John have at once led to the conclusion that it must be late. The

alternative—Jewish Christianity or Hellenistic Christianity—leaves us with “the Johannine *enigma*.” Cullmann assumes that “the type of Christianity represented by John’s Gospel is as old as that represented by Synoptic Christianity. These two types of Christianity must both go back to the very origins of Palestinian Christianity. . . . The two types of primitive Christianity correspond to two types of Palestinian Judaism.” The Fourth Gospel is related to Jewish and Jewish-Christian thought which the Dead Sea Scrolls has brought to light. Lack of space makes it necessary to refer the reader directly to Cullmann’s article for substantiation of the author’s thesis.

Two other important articles must be mentioned. Raymond E. Brown, S.S. contributes a chapter to Stendahl’s book on “The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles.” He emphasizes relationships which are established on the basis of terminology and ideology. Miss Lucetta Mowry of Wellesley College has published in *The Biblical Archeologist* “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Background for the Gospel of John.”

When one attempts in all honesty to find a common mind in Johannine thought he must recognize that, as J. A. T. Robinson comments, “on almost every question connected with this Gospel it is still possible for the most divergent views to command serious and scholarly assent.” Yet, as we have already noticed, Hunter felt that he could summarize definite trends of thought regarding the Gospel during the 1900–1950 period. Naturally, 1950 is not a magic date, and what Hunter noticed for the first half of the century would not be expected to change drastically in the immediate latter half. F. M. Braun reports the opinion that Bultmann’s commentary marks the end of an era, while a new perspective of advancement is opened up by Dodd’s *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*. If this seems an over-statement, it at least focuses attention on the importance of the last decade. The Dead Sea Scrolls have added a measure of zest to studies of the Gospel.

As this article was in preparation we discovered another study by Hunter entitled “Recent Trends in Johannine Studies” (*The Expository Times*, March and April, 1960). Recognizing the “quota of notable books on the Gospel” of the last decade, he asks the question: “Do all these books really increase our understanding of this Gospel . . .? Or are our savants just ringing the changes on the old issues and darkening counsel with learned words? Whatever the cynical may say, it seems to us that in recent years the Johannine debate has taken some very interesting turns.” Sharing this feeling we, too, make our own attempt to draw certain con-

clusions from the studies of the past ten years. It is our purpose to center the summary around the author: his background, purpose and historical reliability.

No scholar of our time attempts to make a strong case for apostolic authorship. All that we may really know of the Evangelist is derived from his Gospel. Berkeley, for example, reserves the question of authorship until the next to the last chapter in his book, after he has presented the development of the thought of the Gospel. Barrett advocates the theory that the Apostle John gathered disciples about him at Ephesus. From the hand of one came the Apocalypse, from another the Epistles, and from a third, a bolder thinker, the Gospel. Lightfoot is not unsympathetic to apostolic authorship. "This traditional ascription [to the Apostle] still receives support, and has never been shown to be impossible." If the traditional view is held, "we must . . . suppose that the son of Zebedee has shown a remarkable ability 'to move with the times'." Lightfoot, however, recognizes our present situation: "It is a remarkable, but hardly surprising, feature of more recent study of this Gospel that interest has shifted from the question of authorship to the question of the evangelist's milieu and of the identity of the readers whom he had in view."

It would seem that real progress has been made in determining the milieu of the writer. Although Bultmann, in the third and revised edition of this *Theologie*, does not significantly modify his opinions as a result of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the trend is decidedly away from his position. We have noticed the views of Albright and Cullmann, especially the latter's emphasis on the diversity within Palestinian Judaism in the first century. The attempt to explain the Gospel in the light of an extra-Palestinian cultural environment now seems hardly warranted. There remains little, if any, enthusiasm for Mandaism. Dodd's conclusion is stated thus: "It seems that we must conclude that the Mandaean literature has not that direct and outstanding importance for the study of the Fourth Gospel which has been attributed to it by Lidzbarski, Reitzenstein and Bultmann." He further comments that, whereas once the Fourth Gospel was understood almost entirely from a Hellenistic standpoint, "in recent years the balance has been redressed." Two factors have been responsible: "First, the Semitic element in the language of the Fourth Gospel has been recognized and studied The second and more important factor is the fresh study of Judaism, and its application to the problems of the New Testament."

Jeremias reminds us that the theologies of both the New Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls have a common root in the Old Testament. "The Fourth Gospel is . . . to be interpreted against the background of . . . Palestinian Old Testament theological thinking, and of a piety rooted and grounded in the Bible." We may summarize with the statement of Millar Burrows: "The Scrolls show that we do not need to look outside Palestinian Judaism for the soil in which the Johannine theology grew."

What purpose did the Evangelist have in mind as he wrote his Gospel? For what readers did he prepare it? His purpose is stated in 20:31, "These things are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name." Interpretations of this statement of purpose differ. Was his purpose to convert or confirm, or was it polemical? The matter "is as wide open as it ever was," comments Robinson, and writers of our period illustrate the truth of his statement.

Barrett can hardly be right when he states that the writer, "though doubtless aware of the necessity of strengthening Christians and converting the heathen, wrote primarily to satisfy himself. His gospel must be written: it was no concern of his whether it was also read." Dodd sees the Gospel as an appeal to a non-Christian public in terms they could grasp. Here Barrett seems nearer the truth in appraising the profundity of the Gospel, which makes it doubtful if anyone without a good grounding in the gospel tradition and elementary Christian theology could appreciate it. Lightfoot sees the purpose "to nourish [the] readers in their devotion to the historic Person, and all . . . efforts are directed to that end." Robinson, in the article to which reference has already been made, regards the purpose as an appeal to win Jews of the Dispersion *outside* the church to the faith. "His overmastering concern is that 'the great refusal' made by his countrymen at home should not be repeated by these other sheep of God's flock among whom he has now found refuge."

The other aspect of the author's purpose relates to the nature of the Gospel. Is it primarily theological, or has it also an historical motive? Barrett regards the Gospel as mainly theological—written by "perhaps the greatest theologian in all the history of the Church." Yet, he recognizes that "he seems to write both history and theology—*theological history*." Lightfoot distinguishes between Luke and John, both of whom were concerned with history and theology: "St. Luke sets the theology in an historical framework, St. John sets the history in a theological framework."

In an important Appendix, Dodd takes up some considerations regarding the historical aspect of the Gospel. He holds it to be essentially a theological work. It centers in an historical Person "who actually lived, worked, taught, suffered and died, with actual and direct historical consequences. . . . It is important for the evangelist that what he narrates happened. . . . To what extent does this work, retelling in a fresh medium of thought the episode out of which Christianity arose, offer a true and valid account of its significance in history?"

If John is regarded as a blend of history and theology, it must be recognized that the Synoptic Gospels are also such a blend. A portrait may interpret a person better than a photograph. So, interpretation may be more valuable than plain, historic fact. Still, the question is relevant: Is the Fourth Gospel interpretation, i.e. theology, or is there a considerable historical basis to it as well?

Inevitably the matter of John's relation to the Synoptic Gospels must be raised. It was almost a dogma among scholars for many years that John at least used Mark, adapting the material to his own ends. John was to a considerable degree discredited, for he seemed to depart drastically from the synoptic tradition. Gardner-Smith's case for the independence of John has found some acceptance. Dodd feels "the *prima facie* impression is that John is, in large measure at any rate, working independently of other written Gospels." Comparing John with the Synoptists—the place-names of John, for example—leads to "the natural inference . . . that the tradition from which the Fourth Evangelist was drawing had some original association with southern Palestine."

If John is wholly, or to a large degree, independent of the synoptic tradition, may his Gospel not be regarded as in Cullmann's thesis a representation of a second type of Christianity, as legitimate as that from which the Synoptists spring? And, if John's Gospel is independent, is there any validity to the view that it may not necessarily be the fourth and last gospel?

The writer may be regarded as a Palestinian Jew whose mother tongue was Aramaic, driven from his homeland which he knew so well into the Gentile world, possessing historic traditions having their origin in Palestine, which he presented in his Gospel so that his readers were confronted "with the veritable Word of God, and with the veritable life of eternity."

Along with the recent studies of scholars it must ever be kept in mind that studies are being made daily all over the world in hundreds of languages and dialects by those who still find, after all these centuries, eternal life in the Word made flesh who dwelt among us.

Survey of Recent Theological Literature

NELS F. S. FERRÉ

There can be no question that the most successful ministers are spiritually alive and intellectually alert. They not only find time to read contemporary theological literature; they make time. This year I present an unusual array of books for high-grade reading.

Karl Barth fascinates me by the sheer vigor of his spirit, the creative openness of his mind, and the variety of his interests. His *Protestant Thought from Rousseau to Ritschl* (Harpers, 1959, \$7) shows him to be an historian of no mean order, while his *The Humanity of God* (Knox, 1960, \$2.50) plunges us into one of the most radical revolutions in the history of any thinker. Barth must not be ignored, nor must we live on a past he has himself repudiated. Read these!

With the wind at his back in contemporary thinking, Tillich has doffed his mask of symbolic orthodoxy. In *Theology of Culture* (Oxford, 1959, \$4) he now fights theism outright as outmoded. To keep up with changes in Tillich's vigorous thinking these recently revised essays provide stout help. His real concern even here is theological, but he is also one of our most astute critics of culture.

Calvin is back in leading theological circles. Thomas Torrance has furnished historical notes and an introduction to his *Tracts and Treatises*, Vol. II (Eerdmans, 1958, \$6). Calvin here deals mostly with the doctrine of the sacraments, particularly in their relation to the doctrine of the church. Torrance has also produced an anthology of Reformed catechisms, *The School of Faith* (Harpers, 1959, \$6), for which he has written a lengthy, important introduction. I have never found this subject more interesting than in this volume. Torrance has also written his own study, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* (Eerdmans, 1959, \$3). His treatment up through "The Second Epistle of Clement" startled me. He accuses the Apostolic Fathers of neither understanding nor teaching the full Christian doctrine of grace. Even though he first treats grace in the Bible, I wonder about his wearing Western juridical and Reformation spectacles.

Three other historical studies deserve to be stressed. Irenaeus is a fountainhead of Christian thought, and Gustaf Wingren, a Swedish theologian, is an expert in his writings. The latter's *Man and the Incarnation* (Muhlenberg, 1959, \$3.75) is a major contribu-

tion in clear, vigorous writing. The treatment of *imago* and *similitudo* and *recapitulatio* is impressive with regard to man, Christ, and the church. Colin Williams offers us *John Wesley's Theology Today* (Abingdon, 1960, \$4.50). Few people realize how great a biblical thinker John Wesley was. His doctrine of experience has suffered much abuse. The latest presentation may have neo-orthodox bias, but at least it reads close to Wesley's own heart; and it reads! The third among these historical treatments is Godsey's "*The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (Westminster, 1960, \$6). I could hardly put this volume down. Most ministers know Bonhoeffer as an ecumenical figure, as a martyr under Hitler, and as a writer of stimulating books. The theological history of this man, however, mirrors major trends of our day. Did his faith at last, too brittlely neo-orthodox and too feverishly Christocentric, collapse into impotent acceptance of secularism? Read and wonder.

A group of volumes dealing with aspects of the church's life provide reading of a different kind. Pelikan's Abingdon Award Winner, *The Riddle of Roman Catholicism* (1959, \$4) needs no introduction, and yet it took me by surprise when I read it. The author has an amazing background of information well-presented. This crucial area of relationship Pelikan treats in a fashion equally scholarly and judicious. Bishop Neill's *Brothers of the Faith* (Abingdon, 1960, \$4) is a delightful story of the lives and contributions of men like Mott, Söderblom, and Temple. The writing illustrates the vividness of personal acquaintance both with the men and with the events. Here is exciting and important biography. Robert Lee's *The Social Sources of Church Unity* (Abingdon, 1960, \$4.50) deals with the social and cultural factors which make for church unity. American culture as such is explored and then the actual organs of the unity movement. Holdouts like the Southern Baptists and the Missouri Lutherans Lee examines with understanding as well as with critical care. *Varieties of Protestantism* by John Cobb (Westminster, 1960, \$4.50) is an exceptionally insightful, analytical job on the kinds of Protestantism we have in America and what makes them what they are. The task is well-nigh impossible, and most of us would differ at points, but structure is given to general confusion on this subject. The Methodists have officially sponsored a symposium, *The Christian Mission Today* (Abingdon, 1960, \$3). A symposium seldom sells.

Nels Ferré is Abbot Professor of Christian Theology at Andover Newton. His own most recent book, *Know Your Faith*, was published by Harpers in 1959.

This one has gathered under one cover the work of great spirits like Ranson, Neill, and Tracey Jones, thinkers like Deschner, Muelder and Robert Nelson, and experts on missionary areas like James Mathews on India and Newell Booth on Africa. It deserves reading.

Another set of books is more doctrinal in nature. J. S. Lawton's *Miracles and Revelations* (Association Press, no date, \$6.50) provides us with a splendid history of the relation between the supernatural and the natural, particularly in Britain since Deism. To read this volume is to wrestle with the whole relation of the Christian faith to the modern world of science and historical criticism. The final chapters can help many who are floundering in this regard. Theodore Clark's *Saved by His Life* (Macmillan, 1959, \$4.50) cost him his job. Certain Southern Baptists could not endure even the mild criticisms expressed or implied by this generally conservative treatment of theology, and New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary was the poorer for his dismissal. More will now read the testimony that led to martyrdom. Georgia Harkness is a dependable theologian never far from the constructive center of Christian confession. Her *The Providence of God* (Abingdon, 1960, \$3.50) is generally main line, but her eschatology is unworthy of Christian theology. Even Barth and Brunner no longer hold on to the double theory outcome. This surely is one of the horrors of bygone days. British reared and Oxford trained Robert S. Paul has given us what I advisedly call a truly great book, *The Atonement and the Sacraments* (Abingdon, 1960, \$6.50). Paul is now professor at Hartford, and we congratulate both professor and seminary! The historic treatment is rich and crisp. Especially enlightening is Paul's treatment of the British theology of the Atonement during the last hundred years. Actually most of the book is a history and analysis of the doctrine of the Atonement, and there is only a brief but insightful section on baptism and holy communion. The Free Churchman, respecting his own heritage, develops with peculiar openness the catholic Christian standpoint.

Two books on which I want to lay special stress are Pittenger's *The Word Incarnate* (Harpers, 1959, \$7.50) and Michalson's *The Hinge of History* (Scribners, 1959, \$3.95). The former is by one of our best theological thinkers dealing right down the constructive center with Christological discussion. The quality of the work is attested to by its being a part of "The Library of Constructive Theology." Few authors discuss other positions as much as Pittenger does, but this fact makes *The Word Incarnate* unusually

informative, and the author lacks no position of his own! Unfortunately Torrance persuaded him to accept analogy as the proper relation between Christ and the church. If such a position be true at all, the analogy can apply only to the appropriation of the human nature by the divine. Otherwise either Christ or the church is doctrinally sold short. *The Hinge of History* is an attempt to render Christian theology in the existentialist key. What vigor is displayed! What top writing! Many will be persuaded by it; all would be helped; but most should come to the conclusion that existentialism is strong by its stress on the experiential and decisional, but cannot be the all-out medium for Christian thinking. For good writing try this book!

The final section I devote to the books of three friends. Those who have heard Murdo Ewen Macdonald preach in St. George's West, Edinburgh, or elsewhere can testify to his power in the pulpit. The same power carries over in his published sermons, *The Need to Believe* (Scribners, 1960, \$2.95). Scottish theology here turns to deal effectively with the modern mood. Ministers seem prone to buy books of sermons; I recommend this one. James E. Sellers, Assistant to the Dean at Vanderbilt Divinity School and Professor of Theology, has written a popular book on the problem of evil in actual living: *When Trouble Comes* (Abingdon, 1960, \$2). Sellers came to Vanderbilt as a doctoral student from the School of Journalism at the University of Florida. He has taught courses in communication. This is certainly a volume that "the average person" can enjoy. Possibly the full Christian confession does not always come through, but what does come through is both Christian and readable enough to have strong impact! The final volume for review is by one who is a graduate of our own school and also my brother, Gustave A. Ferré: *The Layman Examines His Faith* (Bethany, 1960, \$1.95). My brother comes close to my own theological position; I am all for it! He writes with many illustrations and with much verve. In a world where we need constructive theology more than ever, I hail an eager co-worker and pray that his book will be used to the fullest in God's way.

In reviewing these significant books I have tried to group them for the convenience of the reader. He may want to select a certain group and profit from the theological food and vitamins here suggested. Truth to tell, I have never felt more frustrated by lack of space. Some of these books have taken me days to read, and several I have reviewed at length for other journals. The function of these pages, however, is to call our reader's attention

to an offering that can make his life rich and strong, if he will devote his time to careful reading in the dedication of his total life to God. I know that a great hope of the Faculty is that our graduates will keep up their reading and increase in the power to be faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, the eternal Love of God who alone can save us for a new and better day in human history.

BOOK REVIEW

A Guide to the Parables of Jesus. By Hillyer Hawthorne Straton. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1959. Second Printing, 1960. Pp. 203. \$3.50.

The publication of Hillyer Straton's *Guide to the Parables* in 1959 was noted in the December, 1959 Bulletin, but the appearance of a second printing, enabling the author to revise and enlarge the concluding chapter and to add an index, provides the editor of the Quarterly with a welcome excuse to give it further and fuller mention.

Among the reviewer's teachers in earlier days were three scholars who at one time had ministered to congregations within a few miles of each other in rural Scotland: William Morgan, James Moffatt, and Ernest F. Scott. Each made notable contributions to theological learning while in the pastorate. The American church has its quota of scholars in the pulpit, but not many of them can find the time or the energy to publish the fruits of their learning. Despite the heavy demands of a large Baptist parish in Malden, Massachusetts—much more demanding than Moffatt's handful of Presbyterians at Broughty-Ferry—Dr. Straton has published to date not one but six stout volumes. The book under discussion grew no doubt out of the author's preaching ministry, but it is not a collection of sermons. Rather, it is raw material that could contribute much, both by furnishing exegetical background and suggesting expository treatment, to good preaching on the part of all who will take advantage of its rich homiletical grist. Many excellent exegetical studies of the parables are available. Many collections of good sermons on the parables are on the market. But the reviewer knows of no happier combination of sound interpretation and memorable application of Jesus' inimitable stories than this Straton *Guide*.

S. MACLEAN GILMOUR

BOOK NOTES

A Short Primer For Protestants, by James H. Nichols (1957), *Denominations—How We Got Them*, by Stanley I. Stuber (1958), and *Where Our Bible Came From* (1960) are three publications in the paperback "Reflection Book" series of the Association Press that are helpful both to the minister and the layman and that sell at fifty cents each. E. P. Dutton has just published an "Everyman Paperback" at ninety-five cents that is a brief but reliable and inclusive "Guide to the Principal Beliefs and Teachings of the Religions of the World and to the Statistics of Organized Religion": *World Religions*, by B. V. Landis. Hendrik Willem van Loon's popular *The Story of the Bible* is now published in a paperback by Permabooks at fifty cents. A revision of W. L. Lingle's *Presbyterians: Their History and Beliefs* has just been issued in a paperback edition at \$1.50 by the John Knox Press, and the same press, in anticipation of the celebration by the Presbyterian Church in the United States in 1961 of its centennial, has also published *The Story of Southern Presbyterians* (\$1.50) by T. Wilson Street. The very useful collection, *Readings From World Religions*, compiled many years ago by S. G. Champion and Dorothy Short, has now been reissued in paperback form (fifty cents) by Fawcett Publications. Henry Wilder Foote's classic, *The Religion of Thomas Jefferson*, was reissued this year by the Beacon Press as No. 1 of their "Beacon Series in Liberal Religion" and now sells for \$1.25. No. 2 in the same series, Roland H. Bainton's *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus*, is priced at \$1.75. Other reissues in paperback form by the Beacon Press are Theodor H. Gaster's *The Oldest Stories in the World* (\$1.95), Abba Hillel Silver's *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel* (\$1.75), Perry Miller's *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650* (\$1.95), and T. R. Glover's *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* (\$1.75). One of Rudolf Bultmann's earlier works, *Jesus and the Word*—long out of print—has now been republished as a paperback by Scribner's at \$1.75. Baker Book House has reissued Sir Wm. Ramsay's *The Cities of St. Paul* and *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* in paperbacks at \$5.00 for the set of two volumes, or at \$2.59 each. Maurice Goguel's two great works on the life of Jesus, *Jesus and the Origins of Christianity*, are now republished in paperbacks by Harper's at \$1.35 for Vol. I (Prolegomena) and \$1.85 for Vol. 2 (Life). Erich Fromm's *Psychoanalysis and Religion* has now appeared as a Yale Paperbound at ninety-five cents, as have Étienne Gilson's *God and Philosophy* and a new

book by President A. Whitney Griswold of Yale, *Liberal Education and the Democratic Ideal and Other Essays*. Other paperback reprints in the same series are Henry Steele Commager's *The American Mind* (\$1.75) and Thurman Arnold's *The Folklore of Capitalism* (\$1.45). Ernest J. Simmons' *Leo Tolstoy*, the definitive life of the great Russian novelist and Christian idealist, has just been republished in a two-volume paperback edition by Vintage Books at \$1.45 per volume.

S. M. G.

Lecturers for the 1960 Fall Convocation

October 19, 1960

Greene Lecturer

ROBERT L. CALHOUN

*Pitkin Professor of Historical Theology
Yale Divinity School
New Haven, Connecticut*

English Lecturer

J. WALLACE HAMILTON

*Minister, Pasadena Community Church
St. Petersburg, Florida*